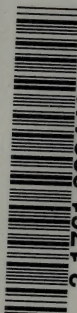


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THE SOURCES
OF
WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT'S COMEDY
THE ORDINARY

A COMPLEMENTARY STUDY TO THE EARLIER
STUART-DRAMA

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE
PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERNE
FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
BY
FRIEDRICH GERBER

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Angenommen von der phil. Fakultät auf Antrag von
Herrn Prof. Dr. MÜLLER-HESS.

Bern, 7. November 1908.

Der Dekan:
Prof. Dr. STUDER.

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PREFACE.

William Cartwright's plays and poems are of little value. Only to the comedy *The Ordinary* a certain importance may be ascribed, as it belongs to that vast group of literary productions of the earlier Stuart period that bear upon social life, manners and customs.

The following pages attempt to give a brief sketch of the ordinaries and their literature, and of the sources of the play in question.

The writer desires to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Prof. Dr. Müller-Hess of Berne University, for the impulse to this treatise, for the valuable hints and the great kindness shown to him during his studies.



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I.

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

WILLIAM Cartwright has had many biographers, yet comparatively little is known about his short life. Moreover, many of these accounts differ in respect to the exact time and place of his birth and the name of his father. According to Wood⁽¹⁾, Cartwright was born at Northway, near Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, in September 1611, and was baptised on the 26th of the same month. His father, William Cartwright, was once a gentleman of fair estate, but after having squandered the inheritance in some way or other, was reduced to keeping an inn at Cirencester, in the same county. Living there in moderate circumstances, he caused his son, a youth of great hopes, to be educated under Mr. William Topp, head-master of the grammar-school of that town. But young William made such progress in a short time that he was removed to Westminster-school, being chosen a "king's scholar".

Lloyd⁽²⁾, however, states that our author was born August the 16th, 1615, and that his father was Thomas Cartwright of Burford in Oxfordshire.

A third date for the poet's birth is indicated by Humphrey Moseley, the publisher of his collected plays and poems. In the preface, *To the Reader*, Mr. Moseley says that Cartwright died at the age of thirty, in 1643.

Bliss, before republishing Wood's *Athenæ*, in 1813, made special inquiries about the date and place of Cartwright's birth. In his additions to our author's *Life*, he tells us⁽³⁾, "Al-

(1) *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. III, p. 69.

(2) *Memoirs*, p. 422.

(3) *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. III, p. 71.

though I had no doubt as to Wood's accuracy, I was induced to write to Burford in order, if possible, to satisfy my readers on this point." The vicar of that place "carefully" examined the register of Burford, but could find "no such name as that of Cartwright". Without success he also examined the register of a neighbouring chapelry. Hereupon Dr. Bliss applied at Northway. There, however, as he learned from the clergyman, the early registers (previous to 1703) were lost, "but", said the parson in his letter to Mr. Bliss, "I was informed that there were strong reasons for believing that persons of that name (Cartwright) did at some time live in the hamlet of Northway." In the absence of all positive proof for Wood's correctness, Bliss inclines to his authority in preference to that of Lloyd.

Bullen, in his notice of William Cartwright in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ⁽¹⁾ thinks also that Wood's account is "probably true".

At Westminster-school, Master Cartwright completed his former learning "to a miracle" ⁽²⁾ under Dr. Lambert Osbaldeston, the excellent head-master, who was "very fortunate in breeding up many wits" ⁽³⁾. In 1628, our young scholar was elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, and put under the tuition of Jerameel Terrent, a former Westminster pupil, at that time a famous tutor at Christ Church College. The rest of his short life, Cartwright spent at Oxford, more or less absorbed in his studies, and in the life of his College, and that of the University. These years were the glorious time of Laud's chancellorship, when discipline was restored, Colleges were reformed, and the statutes compiled which regulated the University for more than two hundred years. Academic life at Oxford, before and after 1630 (when bishop Laud was elected), shows a striking contrast. Before that year, it seemed "that all ancient formalities and ancient order were in decay. There was no wearing of the academic dress, no obedience or reverence among juniors, among seniors chiefly wrangling, and

⁽¹⁾ vol. IX, p. 232.

⁽²⁾ Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. III, p. 69.

⁽³⁾ *Alumni Westm.*, p. 81, note 6.

among all ages bitter disputes, often ending in the breaking of heads if not the loss of life" ⁽¹⁾. Afterwards a marked contrast was noticeable. "There was no more haunting of taverns or loitering in places of ill-example but a serious devotion to study and a constant resort to the public libraries and schools." How farreaching Laud's influence was, is admirably shown by Dr. Brodrick, in his *History of the University of Oxford* ⁽²⁾. "Attendance at sermons and services, the conduct of disputations in theology and arts, the relations between Masters of Arts and Bachelors or students, the forms and fashions of academical costume, the proper length of scholar's hair, the hours of meals, the custody of college gates", and many other academical concerns, the use of Latin in conversation not to be forgotten, received careful attention from the Chancellor. Cartwright was an earnest student, and with "unwearied diligence" ⁽³⁾, went through the different courses of his studies. He evidently soon began to write verses. His first publication appears to be a Latin poem, printed in the *address* that was sent by the "poets" of Oxford University to King Charles I., on the birth of the Prince of Wales (Charles II.) ⁽⁴⁾. Henceforth, Cartwright is almost always amongst the contributors to the *academic verse addresses* that welcome the royal children on their entry into the world, congratulate the King and Queen upon their political journeys, lament the death of some great Lord or Lady, or commend the appearance of some literary production. In 1633 ⁽⁵⁾, possibly already in 1632 ⁽⁶⁾, he took his

⁽¹⁾ Traill, *Social Engl.*, vol. IV, p. 91.

⁽²⁾ p. 110.

⁽³⁾ *Biogr. Brit.*, vol. III, p. 287.

⁽⁴⁾ see *Britanniæ Natalis*, Oxon., 1630.

⁽⁵⁾ see the academic address on the King's return from Scotland (July 1633), *Solis Britannici Perigæum*, 1633, where C. signs his Latin verses: Guil. Cartwright A. B. ex AEde Christ.

⁽⁶⁾ cf. Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. I, p. 508: "By that time (1634) Oxford had a young poet more famous than either Cleveland or Randolph, — William Cartwright of Christ Church, the son of a Gloucestershire innkeeper. In 1632 Cartwright had just taken his first degree".

Unfortunately, Masson does not give his authority.

degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Master of Arts being completed April 15th, 1635⁽¹⁾.

The next year, Laud, (since 1632 also Archbishop of Canterbury) and his University were honoured by a formal visit of the King, Queen and Court to Oxford, at the end of August. The royal visit lasted three days. The usual ceremonials took place, including the bestowal of honorary degrees and the performance of comedies, acted by the students of different Colleges. One of the plays, a tragicomedy, entitled *The Royal Slave*, was written by William Cartwright. It pleased all well, and especially the Queen, who therefore, in November following, gave orders to have it performed at Hampton Court by the King's players. It was acted there in the following year, on January 12th, and the author attended at the royal palace to ensure that his play "was properly got up and understood"⁽²⁾ by the players. The King gave him £40 as his reward.

In 1638, our poet entered into holy orders, and became according to Wood⁽³⁾, "the most florid and seraphical preacher in the university". Since Cartwright's entering Christ Church College, in 1628, events of the greatest importance had occurred in England and abroad. Whilst the continent was suffering from the scourge of the Thirty Year's War, England slowly but steadily drifted into her Civil War. The controversy about the payment of shipmoney had been stirring up all the nation; Prynne (for his *Histriomastix*), and other Puritans had been sent to the pillory; after eleven years of absolute monarchical rule Charles' fourth Parliament had met and been dissolved; the Scotch had invaded England; the Long Parliament had assembled and impeached Strafford and Laud; Strafford had been executed, and Laud sent to the Tower, from whence, in June 1641, he wrote his resignation as Chancellor of the University. In the great political and religious struggle Oxford University sided with the Crown and identified itself with the Anglican Church. It contained, however, a strong Puritan minority which sympathised with the Parliament. In August

⁽¹⁾ Wood, *Fasti*, vol. I, p. 478.

⁽²⁾ Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, vol. II, p. 13.

⁽³⁾ *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. III, p. 69.

1642, when the King had the royal standard erected at Nottingham, Oxford became a garrison. Several hundred students and graduates were drilled to support the troop of royalist cavalry that took charge of the University and town. On September 1st, a delegacy of thirty members, commonly called "The Council of War", was appointed for the purpose of providing arms for the scholars and provisions for the troopers. Cartwright, being an ardent royalist, was nominated one of the council. On September 16th, when Parliamentary troops under Lord Say entered the city, our poet was imprisoned together with some other scholars for "uttering certain words"⁽¹⁾, but soon after they were all released upon £200 bail "a piece taken for them". The Civil War had now begun. Towards the end of September, Lord Say and his men left the town. A month later, Charles I. marched into it to make it his headquarters for a considerable time. "The colleges more and more assumed the aspect of barracks; and Oxford, no longer a seat of learning, was divided between the gaieties of a court and the turmoil of a camp"⁽²⁾. The same month, October 1642, Brian Duppa, formerly Dean of Christ Church, now bishop of Salisbury and preceptor to Charles, Prince of Wales, a great favourite of the King, appointed Cartwright, with whom he was very intimate⁽³⁾, succentor (subchanter) in the cathedral-church of Salisbury.

Our poet and preacher was also elected metaphysical reader in succession to Thomas Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, who was regarded as "a master of casuistry, logic and philosophy"⁽⁴⁾. It was generally said, however, that those lectures were never better given than by our young professor and his predecessor.

The next year, April 12th, Cartwright was chosen junior proctor of the University. In July, Queen Henrietta Maria joined her husband at Oxford, where she stayed till the following April. "Seldom in history, and never in the annals of

(1) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq.*, vol. II, p. 451.

(2) Brodrick, *Hist.*, pp. 129, 130.

(3) see Cartwright's poems to Brian Duppa: *Works*, pp. 199, 202, 274.

(4) *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, vol. III, p. 224.

the University", says Dr. Brodrick⁽¹⁾, "have characters so diverse been grouped together into so brilliant and picturesque a society as that which thronged the good city of Oxford during the Queen's residence in the autumn and winter of 1643 — the last happy interlude of her illstarred life". In that time our poet wrote his *November, or Signal Days observed in that month in relation to the Crown and Royal Family*; but the verses were not printed till 1671⁽²⁾. On November 29th, Cartwright died of a malignant fever, called the camp disease, which then reigned at Oxford, and was fatal to many "most hopeful gentlemen"⁽³⁾. He was buried on December 1st, at the upper end of the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral. His death was generally lamented by his numerous friends and admirers, especially by the King and Queen, who during his sickness had anxiously inquired after him. On the day of the poet's burial, the King appeared in black. Being asked the reason of it, his Majesty said, that "since the Muses⁽⁴⁾ had mourned so much for the loss of such a son, it would be a shame for him not to appear in mourning for the loss of such a subject"⁽⁵⁾.

Cartwright's personality must have been extraordinary, else he could not to such a degree have excited the admiration of his contemporaries. There was something like a rush to write memorial and commendatory verses for insertion at the beginning of his works, when they were collected and published, eight years after his death. Not less than fifty-four copies of encomiums, including the stationer's, covering over a hundred pages, are prefixed to the plays and poems, and the publisher assures the reader that he did not give all he had. The praises showered by the wits and writers of his day upon our author were lavish to a degree. Naturally, many of these laudations are of little importance⁽⁶⁾, excepting those

(1) *Hist.* p. 130.

(2) see Hazlitt: *Handbook*, p. 77; and *Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 69.

(3) Humphrey Moseley, *Preface* to W. Cartwright's *Works*.

(4) cf. the very numerous verses on Cartwright's death, *Works*.

(5) Langbaine, *Engl. Dram. Poets*, p. 52.

(6) Compare Thomas Shadwell's satire on such "mutual congratulations" in his *Bury Fair* (act II, scene 1), where Lady Fantast is sneering at her husband's

of Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, Ben Jonson, and some contemporary biographers.

The former said of our author, "Cartwright was the utmost man could come to"; and Jonson declared, "My son Cartwright writes all like a man⁽¹⁾". Langbaine⁽²⁾ thus speaks of him, "He was extremely remarkable both for his outward and inward endowments; his body being as handsome as his soul. He was an expert linguist, understanding not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian as perfectly as his mother tongue."

Lloyd⁽³⁾, still more enthusiastic, points out that "his high abilities were accompanied with so much candor and sweetness, that they made him equally loved and admired; his virtuous modesty attaining the greatest honour by avoiding all". Summing up his qualities, he continues, Cartwright had "strong sense, compact learning, clean, sharp, full and sure wit; brave passions, even and high language; in fine, a great fanisie with a great judgement, that could do and be what it would". The perfect gentleman was thus happily combined with the great scholar. As a poet, orator, and philosopher, Cartwright was regarded as unique in his time. One cannot help being powerfully impressed by the unanimous encomiums; yet when critically examining his works, we are disappointed in not finding what we were justified to expect after so much praise. However, it must be borne in mind that he died young, and that as a man of growing parts, and in the prime of life he lived in the memory of his friends. Those, during the Civil War, had greatly suffered for their King and the royalist cause and lived away from their dear "Mother the University". What is more natural than that their thoughts would often wander back and dwell on the happy years of their college-life, when, in the time of Laud's chancellorship, "Oxford was an University"⁽⁴⁾, having about 4000 students; when the King and

setting up for a "wit", who "was a Judge at Blackfriars, writ before Fletcher's works and Cartwright's"; (vol. IV, p. 145).

(1) Humphrey Moseley, *Preface to C.'s Works*.

(2) p. 52.

(3) *Memoirs*, p. 422.

(4) Humphrey Moseley, l. c.

Queen honoured it by so brilliant a visit; and when the *Royal Slave* caused so much pleasure.

These circumstances, together with Cartwright's personal and literary merits, and the general custom of "mutual congratulation" may have caused so great a number of commendatory verses, when, in 1651, our author's works were about to be printed.

2. PUBLICATIONS.

Cartwright is the author of four plays, i. e. *The Lady Errant*, a tragicomedy; *The Royal Slave*, a tragicomedy; *The Ordinary*, a comedy; and *The Siege, or Love's Convert*, a tragicomedy. Of these, only one, *The Royal Slave*, was printed (in 1639, and 1640) before the publication of the collected works.

Cartwright also wrote about a hundred pieces of poetry, in Greek and Latin, but chiefly in English. They are mostly panegyrics to the King and the Queen, and to great Lords and Ladies, a few love verses and translations from the classics (Martial, and Horace, especially), two pieces *On the Dramatic Poems of Fletcher*, and one long poem *To the Memory of Ben Jonson*.. Several verses are also addressed to Bishop Duppa, one of the author's patrons. Many of these poems appeared in different collections of verse addresses, before 1651. Some verses, however (the Greek and Latin, and a piece of English [*November, or Signal Days*]) are not included in the works⁽¹⁾.

There is also extant a passion sermon (on Acts II. 23), preached at Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford.

As to the years when the plays and poems were written, Mr. Moseley tells the reader⁽²⁾, "Here is but one sheet[?] was written after he [the author] entered Holy Orders [1638]; some before he was twenty years old, scarce any after five and twenty." Speaking of the way Cartwright looked at his literary activity, the publisher says, "You will do him [the author]

(1) At the end of Dr. John Collop's *Poesis Rediviva*, 1656, Humphrey Moseley announced for speedy publication a volume of *Poemata Graeca et Latina* by Cartwright, but the promise was not fulfilled.

(2) *Preface*.

wrong to call them [the poems] his works; they were his Recreation; . . . never his Business, only to sweeten and releave deeper Thoughts."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS (¹).

verses by W. C. in: **Britanniae Natalis*, 1630.

» » » : **Carmen Honorarium ad Cirenbergium*, 1631.

» » » : **Musarum Oxoniensium Pro Rege suo soleria*, 1633.

» » » : **Rex Redux*, Scotia, 1633.

» » » : **Solis Britannici Perigaeum*, 1633.

» » » : **Vitis Carolinae Gemma Altera*, 1633.

» » » : **Parentalia spectatissimo Cottono*, 1635.

» » » : **Amorum Troili et Creseidae*, 1635.

» » » : **Flos Britannicus*, 1636.

» » » : **Jonsonus Virbius*, 1638.

» » » : **Death Repeal'd* [Viscount P. Bayning], 1638.

» » » : **Musarum Oxon. Charisteria*, 1638.

The Royal Slave, 1639.

The Royal Slave, 1640.

verses by W. C. in: **Honour and Virtue, Triumphant over the Grave*. [Lord Stafford], 1640.

» » » : **Horti Carolini Rosa Altera*, 1640.

» » » : **Vox secunda Populi*, . . . by Tho. Herbert. With some verses . . . by William Cartwright, 1641.

To Philip, Earl of Pembroke, 1641. [These verses appeared also in the preceding address.]

verses by W. C. in: **Proteleia Anglo Batava*, 1641.

» » » : **Musarum Oxon. Epibateria*, 1643.

(¹) For this list compare: Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 1867.

» *Collections and Notes*, 1876.

» *Collections and Notes*, 1887.

— *The Catalogue of the Br. Museum*.

— *The Dict. of Nat. Biogr* vol. IX.

The titles marked with an asterisk refer to the *academic addresses* of Oxford and Cambridge "poets".

On the death of Sir Bevill Grenvill, 1643.

November, or Signal Days, verses written in 1643, printed in 1671.

Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems, 1651 ⁽¹⁾.

An Offspring of Mercy, a Passion Sermon, 1652.

Of the plays, only *The Ordinary* has been republished. It is in Dodsley's *Collection of old plays*, vol. X, 1744; vol. X, 1780; vol. X, 1825; and vol. XII, 1874. It is also in *The Ancient British Drama*, vol. III, 1810.

The poems, contained in the *Works*, are reprinted in Chalmers, *The Works of the English Poets*, vol. VI, 1810. Select poems of Cartwright are to be found in Sanford, *The Works of the British Poets*, vol. V, 1819.

(¹) It may be observed here that the pages in the volume are not marked consecutively. The pages of the preface *To the Reader*, and the complimentary verses, coming first, are not marked with figures at all. The two plays which follow, *The Lady Errant*, and *The Royal Slave*, are printed on the pages 1—148. Then the marking begins again, *The Ordinary*, *The Siege*, and Cartwright's *Poems* thus filling up pp. 1—320, in the second half of the volume. . . The pages 301—306 (306 included) are duplicate, one set containing the poems *On the Queen's Return from the Low Countries*, *Vpon the Death of the Right Valiant Sir Bevill Grenvill*, and *On a virtuous young Gentlewoman that dyed suddenly*. In some copies, the verses on the *Queen's Return from the Low Countries*, (pp. 301, 302), and those on the *Death of Sir Bevill Grenvill* (p. 305) have blanks, as the lines were too royalist in sentiment for the times.

II.

THE ORDINARIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.⁽¹⁾

WHEN Cartwright undertook to draw a picture of real life of London society, he made his principal heroes, a gang of rascals and cheaters, have as the headquarters for their operations, an eating-house or ordinary.

He was by no means the first writer who spoke of ordinaries. In the literature of the Elizabethan and earlier Stuart period, especially in the drama, ordinaries are very often alluded to, sometimes at considerable length. Cartwright, however, made an ordinary the centre of a whole play and gave it this particular name. The same was done afterwards by Richard Brome in his *Damoiselle, or The New Ordinary*, printed 1653, two years after the publication of our author's *The Ordinary*.

1. MEANINGS OF THE WORD ORDINARY.

The term ordinary, as it is used by the various writers, does not always bear exactly the same meaning. Sometimes it stands for a public meal regularly provided at a fixed price in an eating-house or tavern⁽²⁾, or, it means the company frequenting such a meal, the table. But the word also applies to the eating-house or tavern, where such meals are provided; and, finally, to a dining-room in such a house⁽³⁾. The proper signification of the expression, as it is

⁽¹⁾ mainly before 1634.

⁽²⁾ Murray, *Engl. Dict.*

⁽³⁾ Murray, *Engl. Dict.*, gives still another meaning of the word, but marks it as obsolete; i. e. "a gambling-game carried on at an ordinary. (1684, Lond. Gaz. Nr. 1950/4, Rafflings, Ordinaries, and other publick games.)"

used in this essay, may, in each case, be derived from the context. I also wish to add that "ordinaries", not "taverns in general", will chiefly be dealt with here.

2. NAMES OF SOME ORDINARIES.

The names of many of these eating-houses have survived. Sometimes they were the same as their respective hosts'; yet generally, these establishments were known under some other appellation.

cf.: "Greg. I have been seeking for you i' th' bowling green,
Enquired at Nettleton's and Anthony's ordinary".

(Beaumont & Fletcher, *Wit at several Weapons*, act IV. sc. 1.)

also: "Gos. Hark, the bell rings! Come gentlemen,
Jack Dapper, where shall's all munch?"

J. Dap. I am for Parker's ordinary."

(Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, act I. sc. 1.)

again: "Puff. 'Twere brave,

If some great lady through a window spied me,
And straight should love me; say she should send
Five thousand pound unto my lodging,
And crave my company: with that money
I would make three several cloakes, and line them
With black, crimson, and tawny three piled velvet;
I would eat at Chare's ordinary, and dice
At Antony's." . . .

(Barry, *Ram-Alley*, act III, sc. 1.)

A celebrated ordinary (and public-house) was The Dagger⁽¹⁾, in Holborn, frequented, however, by low gamblers and sharpers, but highly in repute for several of its commodities.

cf.: "My lawyer's clerk, I lighted on last night
In Holborn at the Dagger."

(Jonson, *The Alchemist*, act I. sc. 1.)

(¹) See the MS. notes to the word "Dagger" in Nares' *Glossary*, and Murray's *Engl. Dict.* (in the Library of the Brit. Museum), stating that there were two ordinaries and public-houses of that name, the one in Cheapside, the other in Holborn.

Another noted ordinary was The Woolsack, also famous for its pies, like The Dagger. Gifford says of it ⁽¹⁾, "It was an ordinary of low reputation, and our old poets have frequent allusion to the coarseness of their entertainment. The mention of them here, might, therefore, be intended as a sarcasm upon the person addressed, for being addicted to such coarse fare." cf.: "A mess of shoemakers meet at the

Woolsack in Ivylane."

(Dekker, *The Shoemakers Holiday*.)

see also: "Subtle. Her grace would have you eat no more

Woolsack pies,

Nor Dagger frumety.

Dol. Nor break his fast

In Heaven and Hell."

(Jonson, *The Alchemist*, act V, sc. 2.)

The last mentioned were "two mean ale-houses" [and ordinaries, as I take it from the quoted passage] "abutting on Westminster Hall" ⁽²⁾.

Near St. James's was a famous ordinary, called Pickadilly.

cf.: "Farewel, my dearest Piccadilly,

Notorious for great dinners;

Oh! what a tennis-court was there!

Alas! too good for sinners."

(*Wit and Drollery*, 1682, p. 39; Nares.)

Other well-known and very fashionable places of resort were The Mermaid (where Shakespeare, Jonson, and other wits of the time had for some time their evening — and often nocturnal — meetings), The Three Cranes, The Falcon, The Mitre, and the famous Devil Tavern at Temple Bar, in which was the great room, called The Apollo, where Jonson afterwards held his accustomed court.

Some of them will be mentioned again later on.

As to The Mitre, cf.:

"W. Small-Sh. Why art so sad?

Foot, wench, we will be married to-night,

⁽¹⁾ Notes to *The Alchemist*, act V. sc. 2.

⁽²⁾ see Gifford's notes, l. c.

We'll sup at the Mitre, and from thence
My brother and we three will to the Savoy."

(Barry, *Ram-Alley*, act II, sc. 1.)

Jonson lays act V, scene 4 of *Every Man out of his Humour* in The Mitre. Middleton does the same in *Your Five Gallants*, act II, scene 3. The Mitre, formerly stood in Bread-Street, Cheapside; but it was afterwards removed to Fleet-Street.

cf.: "Come we'll pay at bar, and to the
Mitre in Bread-street, we'll make
a night on't."

(Middleton ⁽¹⁾, *Match at Midnight*, act II. sc. 1.)

also: ". and meet me straight
At the Mitre-door in Fleet-Street."

(Barry, *Ram-Alley*, act II. sc. 1.)

One of the most fashionable ordinaries was The Castle, kept by Shakespeare's friend and fellow actor, Richard Tarlton, the low comedian of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It stood in Paternoster Row.

Other passages referring to the above mentioned ordinaries' as well as the names of other places might be cited here.

3. PRICES OF MEALS.

The prices in these eating-houses greatly differed, according to the renown of the establishment and the richness of the meal. Jack Dapper (Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, act I. sc. 1) gives his man, Gull, three half-pence for his ordinary. Dekker (*The Gul's Hornebooke*, chapter V) speaks of three-penny ordinaries, which were frequented by greedy merchants, thrifty lawyers, and needy soldiers, and of twelve-penny ordinaries, where you might meet justices of the peace and young knights. A cheap place is also mentioned by Beaumont & Fletcher, in *Wit without Money*, act IV, sc. 1:

(¹) attributed to Middleton; see Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II. p. 544.

"Sauce. Next time we meet him

Cracking of nuts, with half a cloak about him,
(For all means are cut off), or borrowing six-
pence,

To shew his bounty in the pottage-ordinary."

cf. also: "The unwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinary."

(T. Powell, *Tom All Trades*, 141; Murray, *Engl. Dict.*)

again: "Morose. Your knighthood itself shall come on its
knees

.; it shall cheat at the twelve-
penny ordinary."

(Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, act II, sc. 3.)

finally: "Young Loveless. These are no rav'ning footmen,

No fellows, that at ordinaries dare eat

Their eighteen-pence thrice out before they

And yet go hungry to a play." [rise

(Beaumont & Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, act IV, sc. 2.)

It must be borne in mind that for the fixed price you
could eat as much as you liked. A common price for a genteel
meal was, in 1608, two shillings, according to Nares.

cf.: "Fastidious Brisk [in a new suit]. Why, assure you,
signior, rich apparel has strange virtues:

it makes him that hath it without means,

esteemed for an excellent wit.

.; furnisheth your two shilling ordinary;

takes possession of your stage at your new play."

(Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, act II, sc. 2.)

There were, however, even more expensive eating-houses,
of a crown, or even five crowns, a meal.

cf.: "Pertruccio. It draws near noon, and

I appointed certain gallants to meet me

a the five-crown ordinary."

(Marmion, *The Antiquary*, act I, sc. 1.)

The following passage seems almost incredible:

"When you have done, step to the ten-crown
ordinary."

(Fletcher, *The Wild-Goose-Chase*, act I, sc. 1.)

4. IMPORTANCE OF THE ORDINARIES.

To eat at an ordinary was of great importance for a fashionable young man, and was indispensable to any gentleman. This may be gathered from various passages.

cf.: "Plotwell. I'll undertake, by one week's tutoring,
And carrying him to plays and ordinaries,
Engaging him in a quarrel or two, and making
Some captain beat him, to render him a most
Accomplished gallant."

(Maine, *The City Match*, act IV, sc. 2.)

also: "Laf. I did think thee, for two ordinaries, a pretty
wise fellow; thou didst make tolerable vent of thy
travel."

(Shakespeare, *All's well* ⁽¹⁾, act II, sc. 3.)

Ben Jonson especially gives numerous instances having
this tenor.

see: "Amorphus. I must tell you, you are not audacious
enough; you must frequent ordinaries a month,
to initiate yourself."

(Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, act III, sc. 1.)

also: "Kastril. But does he teach

Living by wits too?

Face. Anything whatever.

You cannot think that subtlety, but he reads it.

He made me a captain. I was a stark pimp,

Just of your standing, 'fore I met with him;

It is not two months since, I'll tell you his method:

First, he will enter you at some ordinary."

(Jonson, *The Alchemist*, act III, sc. 2.)

It was a great honour to be much thought of at the
ordinary.

⁽¹⁾ This passage is erroneously quoted in Nares *Glossary* (word "ordinary"), even in the latest edition, 1905. There, the lines are said to stand in *L. L. Lost*, act II, sc. 3. Curiously enough, this act has only one scene.

cf.: "Th'art known in ordinaries, an tobacco-shops,
Trusted in taverns, and in vaulting-houses,
And this is something more than husbandry."
(Chapman, *All Fools*, act I, sc. 1.)

also: "Face. The whole town
Study his theorems, and dispute them ordinarily
At the eating-academies."
(Jonson, *The Alchemist*, act III, sc. 2.)

Yet, sometimes, Jonson satirises these gallants that throng fashionable ordinaries to "hear of the last new play and poem, and the last fresh widow, who was sighing for some knight to make her a lady" ⁽¹⁾.

See for example *Bartholomew Fair*, act I, sc. 1.

People were much afraid of becoming the table-talk at ordinaries.

cf.: "O, I shall be the fable of all feasts,
The fright of the gazetti, ship-boys'tale
And, which is worst, even talk for ordinaries."
(Jonson, *Volpone*, act V, sc. 2.)

also: "Aurelia. O you are
A careful brother, to put me on a course
That draws the eyes o' the town upon me, and makes me
Discourse for ordinaries, then leave me in it."
(Maine, *The City Match*, act II, sc. 4.)

See here also Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, act I, sc. 1.

5. FASHION IN SOME ORDINARIES.

The life in these ordinaries had a stamp of its own. Certain rules of fashion, rather peculiar sometimes, had to be observed, and the new-comer did well to get acquainted with them beforehand by some friend or member of the "table."

cf.: "Sogliardo. Where shall we dine, Carlo? I would fain
go to one of these ordinaries, now I am a gentleman.
Carlo. So you may; were you never at any yet?"

(1) D'Israeli, *Cur. of Lit.*, p. 231.

Sogl. No, faith; but they say there resort your most choice gallants.

Carlo. True, and the fashion is, when any stranger comes in amongst 'em, they all stand up and stare at him, as he were some unknown beast, brought out of Africk; but that will be helped with a good adventurous face. You must be impudent enough, sit down, and use no respect; when anything's propounded above your capacity, smile at it, make two or three faces, and 'tis excellent; they'll think you have travell'd; though you argue, a whole day, in silence thus, and discourse in nothing but laughter, 'twill pass. Only, now and then, give fire, discharge a good full oath, and offer a great wager; 'twill be admirable.

Sogl. I warrant you, I am resolute; come, good signior, there's a poor French crown for your Ordinary."

(Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, act III, sc. 1.)

As the ordinaries were the "exchange for news, and the echoing places of all sorts of tavern-talk" ⁽¹⁾, the hosts as well as the visitors took care, always to know the latest news, and to be stored with witty, and would-be-witty tales, and jests. The part Tarlton played as host, is well shown in his *Jests*. He would sit with gentlemen and make them merry. — A lively description of a talkative host is to be found in the curious little book, *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie: or, The Walkes in Powles*. The first title, printed twice on the title-page, is followed the second time by the then evidently inviting notice, "Where the Fatte Host telles Tales at the upper ende of the Table."

cf.: "Sig. Ginglespur. But what, dare you venture to an ordinarie? . . . I know an honest Host about London, that hath barreld vp newes for Gallants, like Pickled Oysters, marry, your Ordinarie will cost you two shillings, but the Tales that lie in Brine will be worth sixpence of the money: for you know tis great charges

⁽¹⁾ D'Israeli, l. c.

to keepe Tales long, and therefore he must be somewhat considered for the laying out of his Language . . .

Sig. Kickshaw. If it be so, Signior (harke a Quarter strikes) we are for you, we will follow you, for I loue to heare Tales when a merrie Corpulent Host bandies them out of his Flop-mouth; but how far must we march now like tottred Souldiers after a Fray, to their Nuncions?

Sig. Shuttlecocke. Why, if you throw your eyes but a little before you, you may see the signe and token that beckens his Guest to him; do you heare the Clapper of his Tongue now?

.

Entring into the Ordinarie:

Host. What Gallants are you come, are you come; welcome Gentlemen; I haue newes enough for you all, welcome againe, and againe: I am so fatte and pursie, I cannot speake loude inough, but I am sure you heare mee, or you shall heare me. Welcome, welcome Gentlemen, I haue Tales, and Quailes for you: seate your selves Gallantes, enter Boyes and Beardes with dishes and Platters; I will be with you againe in a trice ere you looke for me."

It may be added here, that the hostess did not play such an insignificant part in the ordinary, as might be concluded from the preceding pages. Often, she alone is spoken of; sometimes, indeed, she is mentioned as a widow.

cf.: "The wife of the ordinary gives him [Amorphus] his diet to maintain her table in discourse; which, indeed is a mere tyranny over her other guests, for he will usurp all the talk: ten constables are not so tedious."

(Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, act II, sc. 1.)

And Dekker (*The Gul's Hornebooke*, Chapter V) advises the poet who is frequenting an eating-house, to be "in league with the Mistresse of the Ordinary, because from her (vpon condition that he will but ryme knights and yong gentlemen to her house, and maintaine the table in good fooling) he may

easily make up his mouth at her cost, Gratis." Compare also, as to this, Laxton's speech, on Jack Dapper proposing Parker's ordinary (Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, act I, sc. 1.):

"He's a good guest to them, he deserves his board;
He draws all the gentlemen in a term time thither."

Shakespeare's Falstaff was so befriended by his hostess, that she bought him a dozen of shirts. (*Henry IV.*; *Part I*, act III, sc. 3). A typical hostess of an ordinary is captain Otter's wife, resolute Mrs. Otter, who "commands all at home." (Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, act I, sc. 1; act III, sc. 1; and act IV, sc. 1.)

6. GUESTS OF THE ORDINARIES.

From the quotations on which we based our statements as to the prices of the different ordinaries we also learned something of the guests that flocked together there. Some details as to these and their social bearing, mainly based on Whetstone (*Enemie to Vnthyrtlinesse*), and Dekker (*The Gul's Hornebooke*), may complete the picture we have so far been able to form.

The lowest haunts, placed in alleys, back-gardens, and other obscure corners were frequented by masterless men, needy shifters, thieves, cutpurses, unthrifty servants, and prentices.

Here, you might pick out mates for all purposes, except good ones. You might find men that would deceive their father, rob their brother, or set their neighbour's house on fire for an advantage. A little more pleasant were the "three-penny ordinaries", where old usurers, stale bachelors, stingy attorneys, and poor officers resorted. As to soldiers, compare the following passage:

"Sir Arthur. . . . of them [soldiers] there be many which you
have spoke of,

That bear the name and shape of soldiers,
Yet, God knows, very seldom saw the war:
That haunt your taverns and your ordinaries;

.

Luce. Yet these are great gentlemen soldiers.

Sir Arthur. No, they are wretched slaves,

Whose desperate lives doth bring them timeless graves."

(*London Prodigal*(¹), act II, sc. 3.)

See also Jonson's character of Lieutenant Shift, (*Epigram XII*).

The rooms, in the above mentioned ordinaries, were divided into several wards. There was little compliment between the customers; every man eyed his neighbour with mistrust.

Quite a different aspect of life is shown in an "ordinary of the largest reckoning". The gallants of the earlier Stuart age had many ways of killing their time. There was the walk in Paul's in the fore-noon; the ordinary, at noon; the theatre, at two; and the court revels in the evening. Some half hour after eleven, our gentleman would repair from St. Paul's to his ordinary, mounted on his "Galloway nag or Spanish jennet", whichever it might be, and followed by his French or Irish page. Sometimes, to hide himself from the basilisk eyes of his creditors, he would prefer to drive thither in a coach. It may be noticed, by the way, that he was cleanly shaved:

cf.: "Our courteous Antony,

Whom ne'er the word of 'No' woman heard speak,
Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast;
And, for his ordinary, pays his heart,
For what his eyes eat only."

(Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, act II, sc. 2.)

On entering the room, our gallant would find there most of the fashion-mongers, lords, citizens, officers, country gentlemen, all waiting for meat. With great gravity and ceremony he would pull out and wind up his huge German watch but not salute any one, except those of his acquaintance. Throwing off his cloak, and hanging up hat and sword, he would walk up and down arm in arm with a friend, to "publish" his clothes, discourse as loud as possible, no matter

(¹) attributed to Shakespeare; cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 210.

to what purpose, laugh in fashion, or have a sour face to promise quarelling. If a soldier, he would talk of the exploits of Drake and Essex, or the French king, of Prester John or Tom Coryatt, to proclaim himself a travelled man, using some fragments of French, or small parcels of Italian, but carefully avoiding Latin. If a courtier, he would discourse of his fair mistress, who gave him the glove he wears in his hat, and would boast of his influence at Court. If a poet, he would, when entering the room, observe no man. After a turn or two in the room, drawing off his gloves, he would drop a sonnet, or some epigram, or satire, and after much solicitation, read the trifle. If it took some time before the meat was brought in, our gallant would inhale some snuff, or "take the tobacco", i. e. smoke. When sitting down to dinner, Dekker (l. c.) advises him to eat as impudently as possible, this being most gentlemanlike; "when your knight is vpon his stewed mutton, be presently, though you be but a capten, in the bosome of your goose: and when your Justice of peace is knuckle-deep in goose, you may, without disparagement to your bloud, though you haue a Lady to your mother, fall very manfully to your woodcocks." This passage shows that in serving the dishes, butcher's meat, poultry, and game succeeded one another; pastry, fruit and cheese winding up the meal. It was not considered bad form to rise during dinner and leave the room for a moment or two. You also might give leave to some one else to pay for the wine.

7. THE GAMBLING⁽¹⁾.

It now remains to speak of a more striking feature of the life in these ordinaries, i. e. of the gambling that was carried on there by many of the guests. As this was usually done,

(¹) The passages referring to this are remarkably numerous in the old writers. Cooke depicts a gambling scene in *Greene's Tu-Quoque*; Shirley does the same in *The Gamester* (act III); Rowley shows how a host induces his young guests to drinking and dicing in *A woman never vexed* (act II, sc. 1); Middleton stigmatises the evil in *Michaelmas Term* (act II, sc. 1), and in *Your Five Gallants* (act II, sc. 3); and Dekker, like a true guardian, seems never to get tired

the term ordinary became often used as synonymous with gambling-house.

As soon as the table was cleared of the broken victuals, shuffling and cutting of cards began at one end, and the rattling of the bones at the other. This was done in the cheapest ordinaries as well as in the most fashionable places. Whetstone admits, that there were some ordinaries in which vice was modestly qualified, so that they might be called "tollerable euylls". The other sort of houses, however, where "a cogging knaue getteth more money in an houre than many an honest man spendeth in a yere", were far more numerous. As to the gambling of the gentlemen compare the following passage:

"Girtred. The knighthood now-a-days are nothing like the knighthood of old time

Syndefy. Ay, madam; they were knights of the Round Table at Winchester⁽²⁾, that sought adventures; but these of the Square-table at ordinaries, that sit at hazard."

(Chapman, *Eastward Hoe*, act V, sc. 1.)

When the wine had heated the heads and the tobacco smoke troubled the sight of the eager gamesters, cozening and cheating were practised. Then false dice would be used⁽³⁾.

of exposing this sore and its consequences, in *The Gul's Hornebooke* (chapter V), in *Lanthorne and Candlelight* (chapter III), in *The Honest Whore, Part II* (act I, sc. 1), and finally in *The Whore of Babylon*. Chapman, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, have occasional allusions. Of prose writers, Stubbes, in *Anatomic of Abuses*, Whetstone, in *Enemie to Vnthyrtinesse*, and Clitus, in *Whimzies* (see the character sketch of the *Gambler*) are the most prominent but also the most ardent in condemning this devilish practice. See also the exact account of the gambling and cheating in ordinaries in *The Harleian Miscellany* (vol. II, p. 108 fol.).

(2) In the Sessions-hall at Winchester, a large circular table, containing the portraits of Arthur's Knights, is fastened up against the wall.

(3) False dice are also mentioned by Shakespeare, (*Merry Wives of W.*, act I, sc. 3), by Jonson (*Ev. Man out of his H.*, act III, sc. 6; and *The Alchem.*, act II, sc. 1), by Middleton, (*Your five Gallants*, act V, sc. 1), and others.

cf.: "This [cheating] they do by false dice, as high-fullams, 4, 5, 6; low-fullams, 1, 2, 3."

(*Compl. Gamester*, p. 9; Nares).

also: "Item, to my son Mat. Flowerdale, I bequeath two bale of false dice, videlicet high men and low men, fulloms, stop-cater-traies, and other bones of function."

(*London Prodigal*, act I, sc. 1.)

The discovery of the dishonest play and the vexation at the losses led often to quarrels, to drawing of swords, even to murder. Compare here Whetstone's denouncements of the ordinaries⁽¹⁾: "The Nurses of thease (worse then Heathnysh) Hellish exercises, are Places called Ordinary tables: Of which, there are, in London, more in nomber, to honor the Deuyll, then Churches to serue the liuing God: neither are they (improperly) named: for, in verye trueth, they are the Ordinarie Intertayners of naughtie persons, and the Sinckes of all abhomynation." And⁽²⁾: "The Scum of all villanie, is euer-more sneakyng in these Ordinarie Houses." Stubbes⁽³⁾ is still more emphatic. "And truely great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be; For are they not the very seminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abomination, whatsoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

Call to mind, then, what euills come of this wicked exercise, I beseeche you. For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of God; doth not stinking Whor-dome, Thefte, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cosenage, Fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; doth not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? Wherefore I will not doubte to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the shambles, or blockhowses of the Deuill, wherein he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppresses them!"

(¹) *Enemie to Vnthr.*, leaf 24.

(²) " " leaf 28.

(³) *Anat. of Ab.*, part I, p. 175 fol.

A gentleman, however, was not to swear and to get out of his temper though he was losing when dicing or playing cards.

cf.: "Shortyard. . . . take heed of setting your looks to your losses, but rather smile upon your ill luck, and invite 'em to-morrow to another breakfast of bones."

(Middleton, *Michaelmas Term*, act II, sc. 1.)

Dekker (*The Gul's Hornebooke*, ch. V.) allows his losing gallant to "sweat priuatly and teare six or seuen score paire [packs] of cards, be the damnation of some dozen or twenty baile [set] of dice", and forswear play a thousand times in an hour, but not swear when gambling. Compare also the humorous passage in Cooke's *Greene's Tu Quoque*, where Staines teaches Bubble how to behave as a gentleman: "Why, now you 're i' the right, sir; if you will be a true gallant, you must bear things resolute. As thus, sir; if you be at an ordinary, and chance to lose your money at a play, you must not fret and fume, tear cards, and fling away dice, as your ignorant gamester, or country-gentleman does; but you must put on a calm, temperate action, with a kind of careless smile, in contempt of fortune, as not being able, with all her engines, to batter down one piece of your estate, that your means may be thought invincible. Never tell your money, nor what you have won, nor what you have lost. If a question be made, your answer must be, what I have lost, I have lost; what I have won, I have won. A close heart and free hand, make a man admired; a testern [6^d] or a shilling to a servant that brings you a glass of beer, binds his hands to his lips, you shall have more service of him than his master; he will be more humble to you, than a cheater before a magistrate."

The infatuated gambler would pawn his clothes before leaving off dicing. Perhaps too, the jest is true that our gallant gamesters played till they sold even their beards to stuff breeches and tennis-balls.

cf.: "Orlando. His [Matheo's] doublet was going to be translated, but for me: if any man would have lent but half

a ducat on his beard, the hair of it had stuff a pair of breeches by this time."

(Dekker, *The Honest Whore; Part II*, act I, sc. 1).

A similar application of the beard is alluded to by Shakespeare (*Coriolanus*, act II, sc. 1):

"And your beards deserve not so honourable a grave, as to stuff botcher's cushions, or to be entombed in an ass's pack-saddle."

The cheating of a young and inexperienced gentleman who possessed some money or a fair estate, was done by a well organised set of smart rascals. The cant terms they used to designate themselves were partly military expressions, partly they related to an aviary. Those men who first proposed to play were called the "leaders". Ruined gamesters, but who could not leave off playing had the name of the "forlornhope". Sometimes, however, fortune might smile again upon them. The lucky winner was the "eagle". The gallant freshly introduced into the ordinary was termed the "gull". Such standers-by who would encourage the first rather timid gull had the name of "wood-peckers". A money-monger and usurer who for obvious reasons, never failed in that illustrious company, "a monstrous bird of prey⁽¹⁾" always hovering round the table, was the "gull-groper". Now, as soon as any of the members of such a gang heard of a young gentleman, whose father had just died and left his son some "ten or twelue thousand in ready money, besides so many hundreds a yeare"⁽²⁾, scouts were sent out to lie in ambush for him. They would discover what "Apothecaries shop hee resorts too euery morning, or in what Tobacco-shop in Fleet-Street he takes a pipe of Smoake in the afternoone"; (Dekker, l. c.). Some witty fellow of the ordinary was then singled out to draw our heir to the eating — and gambling-house. No sooner had the gull entered the ordinary than all the birds in the nest would "flutter about him, embrace, protest, kisse the hand" (Dekker, l. c.), so as to draw him to the stake.

(1) D'Israeli, *Cur. of Lit.* p. 231.

(2) Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, chapter III.

Once or twice he would go home the sole winner, only to be tied faster to the gaming table. But afterwards the "damned dice" would always run against him, till all his wealth was gone, and he might join the forlorne-hope. Such was the practice, inexperienced young men lost their all and were reduced to destitution.

8. FINAL REMARKS.

In going through the pages of the earlier Stuart drama one cannot help being impressed by the importance attributed to taverns and ordinaries and their influence upon social life in general, and literature in particular. In an eloquent passage, Warton⁽¹⁾ points to this special fact, saying: "Our poets, too frequently the children of idleness, too naturally the lovers of pleasure, began now to be men of the world, and affected to mingle in the dissipations and debaucheries of the metropolis. To support a popularity of character, not so easily attainable in the obscurities of retirement and study, they frequented taverns, became libertines and buffoons, and exhilarated the circles of the polite and the profligate. Their way of life gave the colour to their writings; and what had been the favourite topic of conversation, was sure to please, when recommended by the graces of poetry. Add to this, that poets now began to write for hire, and a rapid sale was to be obtained at the expense of the purity of the reader's mind."

Vatke's⁽²⁾ conjecture, "Mit dem vielen Verkehren im Wirtshaus dürfte der Umstand im Zusammenhang stehen, dass die Elisabethanischen Dramatiker das Familienleben so wenig in den Kreis ihrer Darstellung ziehen," is, in my opinion, to be answered in the affirmative. I cannot, however, share his opinion on Elze's statement on ordinaries in Shakespeare's time. After saying that "kein Geringerer als der treffliche Water Poet", J. Taylor, wrote *The Carriers Cosmography*⁽³⁾

(1) *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. IV, p. 375.

(2) *Culturbilder*, p. 160.

(3) "or a Brief Relation of the Inns, Ordinaries, Hostelries, and other lodgings in and near London; where the Carriers, Waggon, Foot-posts, and Higgers do usually come from any parts, towns, shires, and countries of the Kingdom of

[full title follows], and after mentioning Macaulay's⁽¹⁾ remarks on the Tabard in Southwark, Vatke continues [*Culturb.* p. 153]: "Nach den von uns beigebrachten Stellen dürfte es sehr einseitig sein, wenn Karl Elze in seinem so reichhaltigen und schätzenswerten Werke *Will. Shak.*, Halle 1876, S. 170, über die ordinaries in folgender Weise sich ausspricht: 'In besonders üblem Rufe standen bei Sh's Zeitgenossen die Speisehäuser (ordinaries), die sich von 3 Pence bis zu 1 shilling abstufen, wo sich allerlei liederliches und betrügerisches Gesindel einfand und wo es oft ziemlich wüst herging, wenn wir den Schilderungen Dekker's (bei Knight, *Wm. Sh.*; a. B. 263), Thornbury's (*Sh's Engl.* I. 124—129) und Anderer (bei Warton, *H. E. P.*, III, 416) glauben dürfen; nach dem Essen wurde in der Regel geraucht und Karte (primero) gespielt' . . .".

Thornbury, following Dekker too closely in his description of ordinaries, need not be considered here. Of the latter, it must be admitted that he had stolen part of his *Belman of London*⁽²⁾, [of the *Lanthorne and Candlelight, or The Belman's Second Nights Walke*, nothing is said], and that *The Gul's Hornebooke* was fashioned after a German model⁽³⁾. His pictures of ordinaries in *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, in *The Gul's Hornebooke*, and in his plays being confirmed only by the very numerous passages in the contemporary writers, I cannot but support Elze's statement.

England, Principality of Wales, as also from the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, 1637."

(1) "Nine and twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hostelryes." (Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 385.)

(2) "A good deal of the tract is taken without alteration from *The Ground-work of Coney-Catching*, 1592, which was itself a plagiarism from Harman's *Caveat*." (Hazlitt, *Handbook to Early Engl. Literature*.)

(3) "The tract is to some extent modelled on Dedekind's *Grobianus*, and Dekker admits that it 'hath a relish of Grobianisme'. It had been his intention to turn portions of *Grobianus* into English verse, but on further reflection he 'altered the shape, and of a Dutchman fashioned a mere Englishman'." (Bullen, *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, vol. XIV, p. 299.)

III.

CARTWRIGHT'S COMEDY THE ORDINARY.

1. ARRANGEMENT OF THE PLAY.

THE Ordinary, a comedy in verse, written, if not entirely, yet partly before March 27, 1635 ⁽¹⁾, was first printed in the collected *Works* in 1651, with the title: *The Ordinary, A Comedy, written by William Cartwright, M. A., Ch. Ch. Oxon.. London, printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651.* The title-pages of the other plays and the poems differ ⁽²⁾, as there is always printed:, *written by Mr. William Cartwright, Late Student of Christ-Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the Vniversity, etc.* Fleay ⁽³⁾ thinks that it "was probably produced on Cartwright's taking his M. A. degree"; but it was evidently not acted anywhere else, as no reference whatever can be found. The title-page is followed by the Prologue, consisting of twenty-four lines. The speaker of it modestly asks the audience, whose judgment the author appreciates and fears, for indulgence, as:

"His [the author's] conversation will not yet supply
Follies enough to make a comedy.

.
. he only knows
Enough to make himself ridiculous."

⁽¹⁾ cf.: . . . "this tenth of our king", (act III, sc. 1). Accession of Charles I., March 27, 1625.

⁽²⁾ Each play as well as the poems have a separate title-page.

⁽³⁾ *Chronicle of the Engl. Drama*, vol. I, p. 48.

He also sincerely confesses that parts of the play are borrowed⁽¹⁾; and that all is but conjectural, the poet having "not yet seen vice enough to write." Next come the *Dramatis Personae* with the following characters:

Hearsay, an intelligencer.	
Slicer, a lieutenant.	
Meanwell (Littleworth disguised), a decayed knight's son.	} complices in the Ordinary.
Shape ⁽²⁾ , a cheater.	
Sir Thomas Bitefig, a covetous knight.	
Simon Credulous, a citizen.	
Andrew, his son, suitor to Mistress Jane.	
Robert Moth, an antiquary.	
Caster	} gamesters.
Have-at-all	
Rhymewell, a poet.	
Bagshot, a decayed clerk.	} clubbers at the Ordinary.
Sir Christopher, a curate.	
Vicar Catchmey, a cathedral singing-man.	
Mistress Jane, daughter to Sir Thomas.	
Priscilla, her maid.	
Joan Potluck, a vintner's widow.	
Shopkeeper, chirurgion, officers, servants.	
The Scene: London.	

The Play consists of five acts of almost equal length. Each act is regularly divided into five scenes, with the exception of act III, which has six scenes.

(1) "nor act we here

Scenes, which perhaps you should see liv'd elsewhere."

(2) In all editions of this play, except that of 1651, Shape's name, in the *dramatis personae*, is not within the brace, after which stands printed: "Complices in the Ordinary"; thus one might think him as not being one of them. In the original edition, however, the brace, undoubtedly, is meant to enclose the line with Shape's name as well. Comparing the two braces on the page, one will find, that the lower, standing after five printed lines, is of exactly the same length as the first, which, without Shape's name, would stand only after four lines. But a still better argument is the cheater's relation to the other "complices". He is quite as important an agent as any one of them throughout the play, and finally speaks the epilogue. (See p. 41.)

The Epilogue, ten lines, is spoken by Shape, the cheater, who in the name of the "complices" in the Ordinary [Meanwell excepted], begs the hearer's pardon for their knavish tricks. Though having escaped the law, the sharpers cannot feel free, unless they are also discharged by "one good smile" from the audience.

2. SUMMARY OF THE PLAY ⁽¹⁾.

ACT I.

Scene 1. The first scene acquaints us with the "complices" in the ordinary, i. e. the intelligencer, the lieutenant, the cheater, and the decayed knight's son. With the exception of the last-mentioned, they are all in a high flow of spirits, as their former knavish tricks have proved very successful. Slicer, the lieutenant, sees the scarlet robe and the golden chain of the Lord Mayor awaiting him; Shape thinks himself already too clever for these honours. All three agree that they are the "sole tutors of the age", and "the sage trainers up of youth", their house becoming more and more frequented. Meanwell who is lumpish and sighing, is made their laughing-stock, until, tired of his bad temper, they leave him. Being alone, he reveals the cause of his troubles. It is the father's misfortune that captivates all his thoughts. We hear that the good old gentleman has been reduced to misery by the usurer Simon Credulous and others. The son, having compassion with his aged father, and being unable to help in another way, resolves to avenge the wrongs by undoing young Credulous, who is under "tuition" in the ordinary. Meanwell really hates his three companions and despises their actions; they must, however, serve him to succeed in his enterprise. After that he will cast them off.

Scene 2. The deceased vintner's widow, and keeper of the ordinary, is introduced. Longing for a second husband

(1) No directions as to time and place (rooms, &c.) are given by the author.

she successively offers marriage, first to the intelligencer, then to the lieutenant, and finally to Shape. Hearsay and Slicer, having previously, after their respective interview with Mrs. Potluck, left the room, enter again, and together with their comrade begin to abuse the old widow in a most fearful manner, their fun occasionally dropping into grossness. Naturally, the woman loses her temper, calls them by their proper names, i. e. rascals, rogues, villains, threatens to lay open all their cheating tricks, and demands the rent which never had been paid. However, before long, the four become reconciled, as Hearsay is talking of a "match or so" that may be brought about between Mrs. Potluck and a "proper fellow". Then all, except the intelligencer, leave the room.

Scene 3. Meanwell and Andrew Credulous enter. The pupil reverently salutes both his tutors. They find fault with his "compliment" as well as with his ungentlemanlike way of talking, and therefore read him a lecture on gentlemanly manners, which, however, do not include strict morals. Then Meanwell and Andrew leave the room.

Scene 4. Slicer leads old Credulous to Hearsay. The two "complices" first congratulate the covetous citizen in most flattering terms on his wisdom in entrusting his son to their charge. The university would have taken off the young man's courage and mettle, and enslaved him. Their pedagogy, however, breathes freedom, and cherishes and maintains high and noble thoughts. After having thus secured the weak-headed usurer's confidence, Slicer and his friend commence a mutual adulation, one always interrupting the other. Hearsay extolls the "man of war" to the skies for his deeds of valour, who can "write a geography by his own conquests", vaster than all the strange countries seen and spoken of by the greatest geographers and travellers of ancient and modern times. Slicer returns the compliment: Hearsay, "that searching head", has been agent for princes some score years, and the secrets of most of the wordly states and kingdoms have at one time or another been kept in his "body". Credulous becomes convinced that his son is only too happy under such tutors. He must surely become some engine for the "over

throw of kingdoms". The Turkish monarchy is clearly the one most suitable to commence operations upon. But first the hopeful father will be satisfied, if a match between Sir Thomas Bitefig's daughter and his son may be contrived. Given the necessary palm-oil, the accomplices will set to work.

Scene 5. The four tricksters hold a general meeting, and chalk out their respective paths. Shape defines it his duty to "ease", wherever he can, his "silken friends of that idle luggage, called money." Hearsay proposes to his friends to win the "rotten antiquary" as a match for the "toothless countess", the widow.

As to the fleecing of Credulous and the "gripping knight" Sir Thomas, good hope of wealth and means must be held out to them.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Slicer and Hearsay have rescued Have-at-all, a gamester, in a quarrel. He now asks the lieutenant, whether he can teach him how to become valiant. After having consulted his friend, Slicer questions Have-at-all whether he wants to fight fair, or conquer by a spell. As the gamester does not care for witchcraft, he is told that he can grow valiant by a dinner. "Hunger", says the soldier, "may break stone walls, it never hurts men: Your cleanly feeder is your man of valour". But it is not the casual eating of the meats that procures courage and spirit but the "order and manner of the meal — the ranking of the dishes". Then an elaborate menu, where every dish represents some military instrument, is arranged. Wine is not forgotten, as some blood must be spilled ("on the enemies' side"). The lively description of the dinner makes the gamester's mouth water. He feels his strength increasing with every thought of it. He sees the time not far off when he shall bastinado over the ordinaries. Some men he will "speak into carcase"; some "look to death", others "breathe to dust". Unhappy the first human creature he meets after the meal; yet happy, as he will fall by valiant Have-at-all. In order to increase the magic power of the dinner, it must be eaten in the presence of witnesses. Thus, some friends,

as old Credulous, Master Caster, another gamester, and Sir Thomas Bitefig will be invited.

Scene 2. Moth⁽¹⁾, the antiquary, is persuaded by Meanwell that Mrs. Potluck cherishes a secret love for him. After futile subterfuges, such as his white head, and the thick stark bristles of his beard that will prick when he is kissing, he resolves to see the widow.

Scene 3. Caster, the other gamester, has followed Hearsay and Shape, with the intention of learning from the former "a strange new way of winning" at the gambling-table. Of his hundred pound left, he offers forty for the secret. But Shape, the cunning agent of the intelligencer, who with much contempt speaks of the common false-dice, and the ordinary card-tricks, urges the gamester on to give more, till, at last, he offers eighty pound. Hearsay now entreats his accomplice's absence, and reveals to anxious Caster that the great strength and power to win lies in fancy. The strongest fancies are found in the most simple of men. If such a one thinks something will be so, it will be so. If he shall fancy you will win, you must win. It is, however, hard to find one that is capable of thinking in this way. Yet, Hearsay knows of a most powerful thinker, but —. Caster understands the gentle hint, and gladly promises to sell his farm to old Credulous, to raise the necessary money. Thanks being too small for the advice the intelligencer has given him, our gamester begs leave to "think and worship". The future millions turn his head, and already the ways of spending the wealth are spoken of. There is but one thing, that might shatter his hopes — discovery.

Scene 4. Andrew tells Meanwell how by gambling he just lost his cloak, the winner having cheated him. But for a patch upon the cheek and a black beard, young Credulous would have sworn it was Shape. Meanwell talks him out of it, by saying that Shape might have lost his cloak and suit to a cunning cheater. Here Shape enters, cursing ill-fortune, for having been cheated of his best suit. Andrew, though a little while suspicious, calms down. Then Hearsay comes in, an-

(1) He is always using quaint words of Chaucer's time.

nouncing old Credulous and Sir Thomas. Shape, whose business lies not here, leaves them, and Andrew begs Meanwell, for God's sake, not to let old Sim know about his gambling.

Scene 5. He then tries to steal away, when his father and the knight enter. Old Credulous catches sight of his surprised son and seriously questions him about the missing cloak. Meanwell interposes, and establishes peace. The father now offers his youth to Sir Thomas as his son-in-law, who is pleased with him, provided the young man gets a "convenient estate". The old citizen apologises for not being of high birth. But the knight does not regard the thing that is called blood; it is a mere name, a sound. Houses, descents, families are but empty noise; in great revenues lies vertue, Meanwell cleverly seconds. This pleases Sir Thomas well; and he allows the former free access to his daughter to work on her for young Credulous. He admits that the foolish wench would like to have been caught by poor Sir Robert Littleworth's son, if he were not banished from the house. Whereupon the old usurer asserts that nothing is to be feared from young Littleworth, he having surely turned vagabond since the arrest of his father. Hearsay then invites Sir Thomas to dine with them the next day. The close-fisted knight accepts the invitation though it is not his custom to eat at ordinaries.

ACT III.

Scene 1. The antiquary, quite changed by the fire of "little Cupido", comes to see his "bride", and "honey-comb", Mrs. Potluck, who soon agrees to marry him. In token of his love and of the engagement, Moth gives her his biggest cramping and "bites" her red lip with his "tooth".

Scene 2. Credulous, dogged by Shape who has disguised himself as a country fellow, is soliloquising about the house, orchards, gardens, and some two hundred acres of land that he is to get from Caster. Not recognising the man who follows him, the usurer asks the cheater whether he knows Caster's farm. Shape, pretending to be the gamester's bailiff and not to know Credulous, abuses that "hard-gripping citizen, that feeds only on heirs' and orphans' goods", who has bought

the estate, but not given half the worth of it. Old Simon, afraid of the irritated man, lest he might cut his throat if he knew who he was, begins to talk gently. As Shape wants to go to Credulous, the latter reveals himself, and seeing that the man is quite tractable, tells him, he may, perhaps, be his bailiff too. Shape, however, says, he is coming in the name of his former master, said to be at a horse-race some ten miles off, to obtain the hundred pound Credulous still owes him. The usurer first hesitates, but his attention being drawn to the possibility that Caster might win at the race and then cancel the bargain, old Simon hastens to send Shape away with the hundred pound.

Scene 3. Meanwell has gone to Sir Thomas' house to woo his daughter for young Credulous. Priscilla, the chambermaid, who finds him a "very proper man" informs her mistress of his presence. When she enters, the former withdraws. Without circumlocutions, Meanwell tells Mistress Jane the reason of his visit, but is overjoyed to hear from the very sensible girl that she faithfully clings to her former lover, young Littleworth, in spite of his poverty and banishment. A ring that he gives her leads to recognition. Once more they promise to be faithful to one another, and though circumstances are at present not promising, they hope for a happy conclusion. Jane, however, is to pretend some liking for foolish Andrew, and Meanwell will bring things about that Sir Thomas may give his consent in spite of all. When the girl has withdrawn, a rather frivolous song is heard from an adjoining room, whence soon afterwards, Priscilla appears.

Scene 4. Hearsay and Slicer receive Have-at-all and the guests that are invited to the dinner, i. e. Sir Thomas, old Credulous, and Caster. After a few words of good cheer and merry-making they all leave for the ordinary.

Scene 5. Four new characters are introduced, Rhymewell, the versifier, Bagshot, the decayed clerk, Catchmey, the chorister, and Christopher, the curate, all out of work and penniless, and grievously complaining about "this vile world", that never "thinks of qualities". The parson especially talks in such a paradoxical and contradictory fashion that he is not

understood by either of his comrades, with the exception of the poet, who professes that his muse does sometimes take the "selfsame flight". A letter is brought in for Master Meanwell. Andrew Credulous then arrives and sends the servant to ask the four, whether he may keep them company. All agree in the affirmative, but resolve to have a falling out that his shall be the glory of composing the quarrel by "a good dozen of pacifical beer". Andrew enters, and is greatly amused by the hurriedly improvised wit-combat and jeering, which ends in a sham-fight. Not only is he most willing to treat them with beer, but they cleverly manage to get a meal as well, for which, of course, young Credulous has to pay. Before entering the ordinary to "employ" their teeth, each of the boon sparks sings a ditty, the refrain being repeated by the chorus.

Scene 6. Meanwell reads the letter, sent to him by the frivolous chambermaid, who ardently invites him to a rendezvous. Slicer and Hearsay, both desiring to meet the girl, entreat Meanwell in this sense, but are put off, as he has a plan of his own. He leaves his accomplices who begin to grow suspicious of his intentions. They had already felt themselves slighted by the manner in which he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the knight at the dinner, and resolve, when occasion fits, to discard him. If only they can carry on their business one week longer without discovery then — farewell London.

ACT IV.

Scene 1. To Hearsay and Slicer comes old Credulous who is in high spirits on account of the good meal, the wine and the Turkish monarchy, which soon will be that of his son, the "great Andrew Mahomet, imperious Andrew Mahomet Credulous". Then, Sir Thomas' daughter will be the "She-Great-Turk". Caster enters, cursing and swearing, as he has lost everything at the gambling-table, in spite of his fancy-man. Credulous reminds him of the hundred pound he had sent him by his bailiff to the race in the morning. The gambler takes no notice of the drunken usurer, who leaves the room.

Have-at-all enters, is full of courage, because the dinner "works". Soon he goes away to find some one to fight with. Then, Moth comes in, looking for the amiable gentleman Meanwell, who proved such an admirable matrimonial agent. Being told of Meanwell's departure for the knight's house, the antiquary leaves to fall into the hands of Have-at-all.

Scene 2. Slicer and Hearsay are watching poor Moth being soundly beaten by the unruly fellow. At the end they step in to free the old man, who, however, says he does not suffer at all, as his thoughts are with dear "Potluck-Joan".

Scene 3. Andrew too has gone to Sir Thomas' house to woo the daughter himself; but on seeing the chambermaid he mistakes her for mistress Jane, and so fires off his euphuistic phrases, as "Fairest of things, tralucent creature, or rather, obscured deity". When the right person enters he perceives that he has "brought his pigs to the wrong market", and therefore, straight away, asks Jane, "If thou canst love, I can love too, I'm rich." Jane admirably evades Andrew's nonsensical talk. When she wishes for a pledge that he will not cast an eye upon any one else except herself, he is quite willing to be blindfolded, if he only may be led home by any "reasonable thing", be it a man or dog. Then he pictures to himself how he will become for this the hero of some touching ballad, or get into the chronicle. The handkerchief will be hung up in the parish church with his arms on it, "portray' d in good blue thread." The mistress and the chambermaid leave the room, and Meanwell and Shape enter. The latter, counterfeiting Jane's voice, speaks a few encouraging words to Andrew and commits him to the care of his tutor. The hope young Credulous now cherishes of winning the knight's daughter makes him do everything. He lets Shape [the supposed Jane] have a ring with a ruby, and entreats her [him] to take the diamond in his band-string, which the cheater willingly does, and then leaves the room; Meanwell and his pupil not long afterwards following.

Scene 4⁽¹⁾. Shape brings a Puritan mercer, whom he

(1) This scene has no inner connection whatever with the main plot; it merely offers another opportunity for invectives against the Puritans.

owes "twenty pieces" [of gold?] for velvet, to a barber-surgeon. He is told by the cheater that the man suffers from "a small infirmity", a "grief of youth". While the barber is questioning the patient, Shape takes to his heels, and the "indeed-and truly-verily good brother", previously instructed by Shape that the surgeon would pay him out the "twenty pieces," now sees himself duped.

Scene 5. The four clubbers at the ordinary, having been told by Hearsay that Master Meanwell was newly married to Priscilla, are singing a congratulatory nuptial ditty of doubtful tenor, at a window in front of the knight's house. A constable and his assistants enter and lay hold of them. The chambermaid and Andrew, who instead of Meanwell, was with her, are brought in, and in spite of young Credulous' appeals to the ordinary, are led to prison, the constable explaining his interference by: "this staff was made to knock down sin."

ACT V.

Scene 1. Sir Thomas having overeaten himself at the dinner in the ordinary, is now sick. Though past the worst, yet, because life is frail and uncertain, he gives his daughter a few counsels on her journey through life. First, she must not lend money; next, it is good to serve God. Then, if ever she may have children, she is to teach them thrift. Speaking of his burial the grasping old man advises her, not to go to great expense; "any old sheet will serve to clothe corruption." If there should be any to accompany the "body to the earth", they may have for entertainment

"A sprig of rosemary, dip'd in common water,
To smell to as they walk along the streets."

No heavy monument is needed:

"Five or six foot of common stone, engrav'd
With a good hopeful word, or else a couple
Of capital letters filled up with pitch,
Such as I set upon my sheep, will serve."

As to her mourning for him she has leave to do it for "two or three years", as it will "save the expense in clothes".

Scene 2. Meanwell comes to them. Sir Thomas calls him to account for his having sent a confessor to him. The former is surprised at hearing of such a person, and suspecting some trick or other played by his former partners, discloses himself to the knight, and lays open their knavish intentions and his honest contrivances to avert ruin from the persons he is speaking to. Sir Thomas first sees in this discovery only a plot of young Littleworth to secure his own designs; yet, he is willing to go with Meanwell [Littleworth] to the ordinary to verify his statements.

Scene 3. Shape, still in his confessor's habit gives his two associates an account of his visit to the knight. He takes a chair, and, when sitting down, represents the penitent, and, when standing, the confessor. As he is thus acting, Meanwell [young Littleworth] and Sir Thomas appear above, but are not noticed by the three. Shape thus continues to lay bare the mean doings, to which the old man had confessed; how it had ever been his custom to ride beyond an inn to save the horse's fodder; how he once beguiled children of their parched peas, leaving his man to grass or sweet hay; how he often bought a Cheapside custard and refreshed his soul under his cloak; how he once made a mean dinner with servants on broken victuals; how he once entered a chandler's shop and ate his bread in secret, whilst his man fed on the wholesome steam of candle-suet; and, which grieved him most, how he once made bold with the black puddings of his needy tailor. With the greatest difficulty Meanwell prevails upon Sir Thomas to master his temper. The confessor then goes on to say how the penitent, not being able to weep, at last gave a hundred pound to secure his salvation. The two listeners above are now seen; they leave the room to fetch some officers to arrest the tricksters, who, believing that Meanwell was in the prison with the chambermaid, find themselves in an awkward situation; yet, Shape knows one way in which the cat may perhaps light on all fours.

Scene 4. Sir Thomas, Meanwell [young Littleworth], constable and watchmen enter. Not finding the three, the officer, upon the knight's request, calls forth the mistress of the house,

who comes in with joyous Moth, as her husband. As the policemen are going in and out about the rooms, Hearsay, Slicer, and Shape, all disguised as watchmen, mingle themselves with them, and so pass without discovery. The constable and some of his men then bring in old Credulous and Caster. Both are denounced by Shape to belong to the gang, whereupon the officer summons the old usurer to confess where his comrades are. The mistake is corrected by Sir Thomas, who tells the astonished hearers that they all have been cheated by the men of the ordinary, who now have escaped. Then Credulous inquires for his son. The constable informs him that, in the morning, a certain Andrew Credulous had been taken in "dishonest adultery with a trull" and locked up in prison. The father prays that he may be fetched. While the officer goes out, Have-at-all enters, and seeing Moth, excuses his rude usage of him. The constable returns with Andrew, Priscilla, and the four that were taken at the window singing. Young Credulous, being bidden to explain his unfortunate adventures, says that Meanwell had told him he should meet with Jane, but instead of her he had found the chambermaid, who in the prison, had become his wife, as they were joined by the curate. The highly irritated father lays all the blame for this on Meanwell and wishes he were present, not recognising young Littleworth. The latter asks the usurer whether he has forgotten him, and, using the old man's own expression, observes that the "vagabond" has appeared at last. To vex him still more, Meanwell [Littleworth] informs him that the "hundred pound" he believed to have sent to Caster, have disappeared in Shape's pocket. Credulous cannot bear this any longer; he calls Andrew and leaves the room, Priscilla following them. Then Jane, having been sent for by her father to clear up matters, enters. Her appearance suggests to Meanwell a question, which, hesitatingly put, seems to him overbold. Sir Thomas understands him, but thinking him not innocent in this "flesh-brokery", rightly hesitates to enter further into this subject. Thus the young man is forced to explain himself. That Andrew had been so directed as to meet with the chambermaid instead of Mistress Jane, was

merely done to sound young Credulous' affection towards the virtuous daughter. The blame really must be laid upon himself, Meanwell admits. Should the father deny her to him, he would never draw her from obedience to procure her ruin. Upon this Sir Thomas' sole objection is the disproportion of the fortunes, which difficulty, however, Littleworth is able to remove by contrasting wealth and good parts. Thus, when Jane is asked her consent, the happy union of the two sensible characters becomes a fact. The knight then thanks the constable for his pains, and asks him to dismiss the watchmen. All, except Shape, Hearsay, and Slicer, leave the room.

Scene 5. The three accomplices compliment themselves upon their lucky escape, but resolve to leave for New-England, as London air "begins to be too hot" for them. With some satire upon the Puritans, the comedy ends.

3. SOURCES OF THE PLAY.

As we have seen (p. 40¹), Cartwright has obtained parts of his material at second-hand. The only hints as regards the sources of the comedy are to be found in Ward's *Engl. Dram. Lit.* (vol. III, p. 140), and in the respective editors' notes to the different publications of the play. Professor Ward, cautiously, yet appropriately writes on this subject (l. c.): "Jonson was the model whom Cartwright followed in passages as well as in the general conception of this comedy; but the phase of manners which is depicted in part of it might have been suggested by numerous passages in other dramatists". And in the footnote to this statement Ward adds: "See Gifford's note to Jonson's *Alchemist* (act I, sc. 1; vol. IV, p. 32); and cf., as having suggested the elaborate description of a 'military dinner' in *The Ordinary* (act II, sc. 1), the speech of the Cook in Jonson's masque of *Neptune's Triumph*. — See also the gambling scene in an Ordinary in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (ante, vol. II, p. 514), and cf. Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (vol. II, p. 212 in *Works*)."

As we shall see, some of these plays have undoubtedly in-

fluenced *The Ordinary*, but there are still some other sources to be spoken of.

The authors that may have had an influence on Cartwright's play are now treated in chronological order.

CHAUCER ⁽¹⁾.
(1340 c.—1400.)

For his antiquary, Moth, Cartwright not only fetches most of his antiquated words from Chaucer, but he also transcribes numerous passages from the author of *The Canterbury Tales*. In doing this, he is following Jonson, his literary chief, who in his plays, especially in *The Alchemist*, has frequent allusions to the medieval poet ⁽²⁾. Compare the following list of verses in *The Ordinary* that can be identified with Chaucerian passages:

THE CANTERBURY TALES.

The Prologue.

- v. 210. "In alle the ordres foure is noon that can
So much of daliaunce and fair langage".
(*Ord.* II, 2). "I can no whit of daliance".
- v. 560. "He was a Janglere and a goliardeys".
(*Ord.* II, 2). ". you bin
A jangler, and a goliardis".

The Knightes Tale.

- v. 2927. "In which they woneden in reste and pees,
Nymphes, Faunes, and Amadrides." ⁽³⁾
(*Ord.* II, 2). "With nymphs and fauns, and hama-
dryades."

The Miller's Prologue.

- v. 3114. ". . .so moot I goon
This gooth aright; . . ."
(*Ord.* II, 2). ". So mote I gone,
This goeth aright; . . ."

⁽¹⁾ All the passages referring to Chaucer, were found by the writer before seeing Ballmann's essay on *Chaucers einfluss auf das englische drama*, excepting, naturally, the lines, cited from him.

⁽²⁾ cf. Gifford's notes to Jonson's *Works*; and Ballmann, p. 14. fol.

⁽³⁾ cited from Ballmann, p. 65.

The Miller's Tale.

- v. 3428. "This world is now ful tikel, sikerly;"
(*Ord.* II, 2). "The world is now full tykel sykerly;"
- v. 3483. "Jesu Crist, and seynt Benedight,
Blesse this hous from every wikked wight;"
(*Ord.* III, 1). "Saint Francis and Saint Benedight,
Blesse this house from wicked wight;"⁽¹⁾
- v. 3682. "My mouth hath icched al this longe day;"
(*Ord.* II, 2). "Mine mouth hath itched all this livelong
day;"
- v. 3698. "What do ye hony-comb, swete Alisoun?
My faire brid, my swete cinamome."
(*Ord.* III, 1). "Come forth, mine duck, mine bryd, mine
honey-comb;
Come forth, mine cinamon."

The Reeve's Prologue.

- v. 3869. "This whyte top wryteth myne olde yeres."
(*Ord.* II, 2). "This white top writeth much my years."
- v. 3877. "For in oure wil ther stiketh ever a nayl,
To have an hoor heed and a grene tayl,
As hath a leek."⁽²⁾
(*Ord.* III, 1). "I am thine leeke, thou Chaucer eloquent;
Mine head is white, but oh! mine taile is green."
- v. 3882. "Yet in our asschen olde is fyr y-reke."⁽³⁾
(*Ord.* II, 2). "My fire yreken is in ashen cold."

(1) cf. as to the rest of this night-spell the "counter-spell" in *Monsieur Thomas* (act. IV, sc. 6), by Beaumont and Fletcher.

(2) Dekker, in *The Honest Whore, Part II* (pr. 1630; cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 462) act I, sc. 1, has this figure in an improved form:

"Orlando. tho my head be like a Leeke, white; may not my heart be like the blade, greene?"

(3) cited by Steevens; cf. *Anc. Br. Drama*, vol. III, p. 154: and Dodsley-Hazlitt, vol. XII, p. 240.

Introduction to the Man of Law's Prologue.

- v. 92. "To Muses that men clepe Pierides —
Metamorphoseos wot what I mene:" ⁽¹⁾ —
(*Ord.* II, 2). "And yeke the sisterne nine Pierides . . .
Metamorphoseos wat well what I mean".
- v. 94. "But natheless, I recche noght a bene." ⁽²⁾
(*Ord.* V, 4). ". . . I do not reche
One bean for all."

Sir Thopas.

- v. 1905. "All of a knyght was fair and gent".
(*Ord.* III, 1). "A knight most gent."

The Monk's Prologue.

- v. 3118. "But, by my trouthe, I knowe not your name,
Wher shall I calle you my lord dan John,
Or dan Thomas, or elles dan Albon?"
(*Ord.* IV, 2). "Now, by my trouth, I know not your
name;
Whider I shall call you my Lord Dan John,
Or Dan Thomas, or Dan Robert, or Dan Albon;"

The Clerkes Tale.

- v. 115. "which that men clepeth spousaille or wedlok."
(*Ord.* II, 2). "Which men do clypen spousail, or
wedlock,"

The Marchantes Tale.

- v. 1464. "I fele me nowher hoor but on myn heed."
(*Ord.* III, 1). "I no where hoart yfeel, but on mine
head."
- v. 1514. ". . . any man, that stopen is in age."
(*Ord.* II, 2). "Some dele ystept in age!"
- v. 1823. "He lulleth hir, he kisseth hir ful ofte
With thikke bristles of his berd unsofte,
Lyk to the skin of houndfish, sharp as brere."

⁽¹⁾ cited from Ballmann, p. 65.

⁽²⁾ cited from Ballmann, p. 66.

(*Ord.* II, 2). "...: If I kissen,
These thick stark bristles of mine beard will pricken
Ylike the skin of hound-fish."

- v. 1847. "He was al coltish, ful of ragerye,
And ful of Jargon as a flekked pye."

(*Ord.* II, 2). "They being all coltish and full of ragery,
And full of gergon as is a flecken pye."

- v. 2011. "He kembeth him, he proyneth him and pyketh."

(*Ord.* II, 2). "Kembeth thyself, and pyketh now thyself;"

TROILUS AND CRISEYDE.

Book I.

- v. 785. "I graunte wel that thou endurest wo
As sharp as doth he, Ticius, in helle,
Whos stomak foules tyren ever-mo
That highte volturis, as bokes telle."

(*Ord.* III, 1). "I grant well now, I do enduren woe,
As sharp as doth the Tityus in hell,
Whose stomach fowls do tyren ever more
That lighten vultures, as do tellen clerks." (1)

- v. 908. "... for thou were wont to chace
At love in scorn, and for despyt him calle
'Seynt Idiot, lord of thise foles alle'."

(*Ord.* II, 2). "Whoso with them maketh that bond anon,
Which men do clypen spousail, or wedlock,
Saint Idiot is his lord, I wis."

Book III.

- v. 57. "... so that his herte gan to quappe."

(*Ord.* II, 2). "My heart gan quapp full oft."

THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

The Legend of Thisbe.

- v. 865. "And lyke the wawes quappe gan her herte." (2)

(*Ord.* II, 2). "My heart gan quapp full oft."

(1) Note that Cartwright wrote commendatory verses upon the translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* into Latin, by Sir Francis Kinaston; see p. 19.

(2) cited from Ballmann, pp. 65, 66.

THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE.

- v. 155. "y-frounced foule was hir visage." ⁽¹⁾
 (Ord. V. 4). "His visage foul, yfrouncet with glowing
 eye."

BOETHIUS.

Book III, Metre XII.

- l. 28. . . . "the fowl that highte voltor, that
 eteth the stomak or the giser of Tityus." ⁽¹⁾
 (Ord. III, 1). ". . . I do endure woe
 As sharp as doth the Tityus in hell,
 Whose stomach fowls to tyren ever more
 That highten vultures, as do tellen clerks;"

THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESSSE.

- v. 1160. "Al-thogh I coude not make so wel
 Songes, ne knowe the art al,
 As coude Lamekes sone Tubal,
 That fond out first the art of songe;
 For, as his brothers hamers ronge
 Upon his anvelt up and doun,
 Therof he took the firste soun."
 (Ord. IV, 2. "Tubal the sonne of Lamech did y find
 Musick by knocking hammers upon anviles.")

It may, first of all, be taken for granted that Cartwright's lines are inspired by *The Book of the Duchesse*. But notice then Chaucer's error in mixing up "Tubal" with "Jubal", who "was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ", whilst "Tubal-cain" was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron" ⁽²⁾. Whether Cartwright was aware of Chaucer's mistake or not, does not seem quite clear from his passage, which contains still another error, as Jubal is identified with Tubal.

The manner our young author borrows from Chaucer is

⁽¹⁾ cited from Ballmann, pp. 65, 66.

For the last-named passage in *The Ordinary*, compare my investigation, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ cf. Skeat's note to this passage, and his quotations from Gen. IV, 21.

remarkable. He goes even so far as to transcribe one line from one part of *The Canterbury Tales*, and the next but one and the following from quite another tale.

cf. (*Ord.* II, 2):

"The world is now full tykel sykerly;
'Tis hard to find a damosel unwenned;
They being all coltish and full of ragery,
And full of gergon as is a flecken pye."

and (*The Miller's Tale*; v. 3428):

"This world is now ful tikel sikerly."

also (*The Marchantes Tale*; v. 1847, 1848):

"He was al coltish, ful of ragerye,
And ful of Jargon as a flekked pye."

Hazlitt's remark to a passage in act IV, sc. 2 (*The Ordinary*), that Cartwright adopted for his antiquary "the English of a period of which he was evidently very ignorant", seems quite justified. I cannot entirely dismiss the thought that our author compiled in a similar way the materials for his other characters and plots, in the absence of any wider experience with real life; thus the numerous allusions to other plays, as we shall see.

GEORGE PEELE.
(1558 c.—1597 c.)

The joke Hearsay cracks about the sudden disappearance and most probable reappearance of the accomplices (act V, scene 4), is an allusion to a story told in Peele's *Edward the First* (and in an old ballad) ⁽¹⁾. See Hearsay's jocular remark:

"Slicer. I'll lay my neck to a farthing, then, they're vanish'd.

Hear. Sunk like the Queen; they'll rise at Queen-hive, sure!"

The full title of Peele's play is: *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the first, sirnamed Edward Longshankes, with his returne from the holy land. Also the life of Llevellen rebell in*

(1) cf. the footnote to this passage, Dodsley-Hazlitt, vol. XII, p. 309; also Koeppel, *Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 20, p. 62.

Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Potters-hith, now named Queene-hith. (1)

(The old ballad bears the title: *A Warningpiece to England against Pride and Wickedness: Being the fall of Queen Eleanor, wife to Edward the First, king of England; who, for her pride, by God's judgments, sunk into the ground at Charing-Cross, and rose at Queenhithe*). (2)

Of Peele's play, and a ballad, "doubtless A Warning-piece, etc", Anthony Wood says (3): "This, and a ballad of the same subject are now usually sold by ballad-singers or balladmongers."

SHAKESPEARE.

(1564—1616.)

In act I, scene 4, Cartwright seems to have imitated one of Shakespeare's bad jokes, though the Oxford divine did not think very highly of the great dramatist, as we see in the commendatory verses on Fletcher (4).

Professor Koepfel points out this relation (5). He says: "In *The Comedy of Errors* sagt der syrakusische Dromio von der gestalt der ihn verfolgenden küchenfee Nell: She is spherical, like a globe; I could find out countries in her, — und vertheilt dann auf die fragen seines herrn hin die länder Irland, Schottland, Frankreich, England, Spanien, Amerika und die Indien an die verschiedenen theile ihres körpers — ein nichts weniger als feiner, aber wohl viel belachter scherz (III, 2). In Cartwright's komödie *The Ordinary* (gedr. 1651) preist der schwindler Slicer dem tölpel Credulous gegenüber seinen spiessgesellen Hearsay als einen grossen, mit den wichtigsten angelegenheiten aller länder vertrauten politiker und schliesst seinen panegyrikus mit den worten:

(1) cf. *Dramatic and Poetical Works* of Robert Greene and George Peele ed. Dyce, p. 372.

(2) cf. Thomas Evans, *Old Ballads*; ed R. H. Evans; vol. II, p. 267 fol.

(3) cf. *Dram. & Poet. Works* of Greene & Peele; ed. Dyce, p. 339.

(4) cf. Cartwright's *Works*, p. 273.

(5) *Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgen. Dramatiker, Materialien*, Bd. 9, p. 84.

'Twould be a policy worth hatching, to
 Have him dissected, if 'twere not too cruel.
 All states would lie as open as his bowels:
 Turkey in's bloody liver; Italy
 Be found in's reins; Spain busy in his stomach;
 Venice would float in's bladder; Holland sail
 Up and down all his veins; Bavaria lie
 Close in some little gut, and ragioni
 Di Stato generally reek in all.

(I. 4. D H. XII, p. 229.)

Diese Ähnlichkeit wird schwerlich eine zufällige sein."

Though our author's "ragioni di Stato" might be an allusion to Jonson's "ragioni del stato" in *Cynthia's Revels* ⁽¹⁾, act I, sc. 1, it is not excluded that the whole passage is forged after Shakespeare.

THOMAS MIDDLETON.

(1570 c.—1627.)

Michaelmas Term, (printed 1607). ⁽²⁾

The joy old Credulous anticipates (*The Ordinary*, act III, scene 2) in getting Caster's farm, reminds much of the woollen-draper and usurer Quomodo in *Michaelmas Term*, where (in act III, sc. 4, but especially in act IV, sc. 1) he very pleasantly describes the land in Essex which he soon will have as a forfeit from Master Easy, the 'country gull'.

* * *

Your five Gallants, (licensed 1608). ⁽³⁾

The general conception of Meanwell might have been suggested by this play. Here, Fitsgrave, in order to win Katherine, the wealthy orphan, who is courted by five gallants, disguises himself as a scholar, and assumes another name. He then mingles with them, learns all their foul intentions, and sees their reprehensible life. To save Katherine from their snares, and to secure his object, he contrives to lay bare all their

⁽¹⁾ cf. Gifford's note to this expression in *Cynthia's Revels*, act I, sc. 1.

⁽²⁾ cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 514.

⁽³⁾ cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 518.

BEN JONSON.

(1573—1637.)

Every Man in his Humour, (first acted 1598 or 1597).⁽¹⁾

Have-at-all, who wishes lieutenant Slicer to teach him valour that his sword may "fetch blood" (act II, sc. 1), reminds strongly of Master Mathew in Jonson's play. Here (act I, sc. 4), brave Captain Bobadil, the military braggart, offers to show his pupil a trick that he shall kill his adversary "at the first". Both "gulls", Have-at-all and Mathew, are to become invincible, whilst their respective tutor's aim is to get some money out of them, or a meal. In *The Ordinary*, the dinner must serve as a means to render Have-at-all valiant.

* * *

Every Man out of his Humour, (acted 1599).⁽²⁾

This comedy, a picture of manners and characters, has, undoubtedly, yielded several distinctive features for our play.

The manner in which Slicer and Hearsay are extolling each other's exploits before the weakpated Credulous (act I, sc. 4) seems to have been influenced by Jonson's play in question⁽³⁾. In act V, sc. 2, Puntarvolo begs leave to report Sogliardo to Lady Saviolina:

"He's a gentleman, lady, of that rare and admirable faculty, as, I protest, I know not his like in Europe; he is exceedingly valiant, an excellent scholar, and so exactly travelled, that he is able, in discourse, to deliver you a model of any prince's court in the world".

And when this wonder enters, Puntarvolo continues:

"This is he! pray observe him, lady".

— Cartwright also obviously alludes to *Every Man out of his Humour* when Hearsay proposes to his comrades (act I, scene 5):

"For my good toothless countess, let us try
To win that old eremite thing that, like
An image in a German clock, doth move,
Not walk — I mean, that rotten antiquary".

⁽¹⁾ cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 344.

⁽²⁾ cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 346.

⁽³⁾ cf. also what is said as to *The Magnetic Lady*, p. 73 fol.

In act II, sc. 1, of the mentioned play, Carlo Buffone makes the following remark on the vainglorious knight Puntarvolo:

"He looks like a colonel of the Pigmies horse, or one of these motions in a great antique clock". To this, Gifford observes in the footnote: "There is an allusion to these figures in *The Ordinary*".

— In act II, scene 1 (*The Ordinary*), Have-at-all, feeling his strength increase with every thought of the military dinner, boasts of his future exploits:

. "Some men I will
Speak into carcase, some I'll look to death,
Others I'll breathe to dust".

In Jonson's comedy (act V, sc. 3), Macilente says to Sogliardo:

"Tush, melancholy! you must forget that now, and remember you lie at the mercy of a fury: Carlo will rack your sinews asunder, and rail you to dust".

Though Cartwright pleasantly dilates on the subject, the similarity in describing the hyperbolic fury suggests more than coincidence. ⁽¹⁾

— Again, when accumulating appositions to get a high-sounding name for the future ruler of the Turkish monarchy, our author is working from wellknown patterns. Compare Sogliardo's anxiety, in *Every Man out of his Humour* (act I, sc. 1) to find a sounding name:

"Sog. for my name, signior how think you? will it
not serve for a gentleman's name, when the signior
is put to it, ha?"

Car. Let me hear; how is it?

Sog. Signior Insulso Sogliardo: methinks it sounds well".

The full title, Carlo suggests to the clownish simpleton to assume, runs: . . . "worshipful right rare, and nobly qualified friend and kinsman, signior Insulso Sogliardo".

⁽¹⁾ cf. also Subtle's vigorous expressions in his quarrel with Face (*The Alchemist*, act I, sc. 1).

See now *The Ordinary* (act. IV, sc. 1):

"Cred. . . . Andrew the Great Turk!

I would I were a pepper-corn, if that
It sounds not well. Does 't not?

Sli. Yes, very well.

Cred. I'll make it else: Great Andrew Mahomet,
Imperious Andrew Mahomet Credulous,
Tell me which name sounds best".⁽¹⁾

— Finally, when old Credulous is indicted by Shape as being one of the gang of rascals (act V, sc. 4), he defends himself before the constable by saying:

"I am as honest as the skin that is
Between thy brows".

This expression we find also in Jonson's play (act II, sc. 1), where the waiting gentlewoman answers Puntarvolo's questions about the virtues of the "lord of the castle".

cf. "Punt. Is he magnanimous?

Gent. As the skin between your brows, sir".

It might not be amiss to consider this the model for Cartwright's lines. * * *

The Alchemist, (acted 1610).⁽²⁾

To the Dapper-episode in act I, scene 1, of this play, Gifford observes: "Cartwright, a devoted follower of Jonson, has imitated, or rather caricatured, much of this dialogue in *The Ordinary*". We have seen (p. 52) that Ward merely refers to Gifford's notes in *The Alchemist*. But Cartwright has followed Jonson, not only in the general conception of his three accomplices, but also in some details which he borrows from every act of the famous model.⁽³⁾

(1) The same satire upon quixotism we meet also in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (act I, sc. 1), where Ralph says to his companions: "you never call me by any other name, but the Right courteous and valiant Knight of the Burning Pestle".

(2) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 367.

(3) In *Anglist. Forschungen*, Heft 20, 1906, p. 162 fol., Prof. Koeppl first enlightens us upon the essential relations between the two comedies. As my essay was written in the winter of 1905—06 (but not printed till 1909), I may by permitted to give the results of my investigations, which affirm Koeppl's statements, but bring a few more details.

In *The Alchemist*, (act I, sc. 1), Dapper, a lawyer's clerk, comes to the necromancier Subtle to get from him an attendant spirit or demon that he might "rifle with at horses and win cups". Not offering enough, at first, for such a rare gift, he is cleverly worked upon by Face, Subtle's accomplice, until he empties his pockets of all the gold coins, and promises to share his winnings with the two sharpers, for:

"He'll win up all the money in the town.

.
And blow up gamester after gamester".

He will also win at cards and strip the gallants to the cloak. The fool, then, is told, that he is allied to the queen of Fairy, and born with a cawl on his head, and therefore "must" become very rich. The duties imposed upon him, do not appear heavy to him. The comparison of this scene with the Caster-episode (cf. the summary of the play, act II, sc. 3; p. 44), clearly shows the general resemblance of the plots.

Now as to the details:

— We have alluded to the contemptuous manner in which Hearsay speaks to Caster about the common false dice. The prototype is to be found in Jonson's play.

In act II, scene 1, Sir Epicure Mammon, overjoyed with the hope of having found the golden mines of Solomon, pronounces the happy word:

. . . . "Be rich;

This day you shall be spectatissimi.

You shall no more deal with the hollow dye,

Or the frail card".

Sir Epicure, however, means to give up gambling altogether, as he soon will get money by other means; Caster, on the other hand, is to learn higher and finer tricks to win at the gambling table.

cf. Cartwright's dilation:

. . . . "your high

And low men are but trifles; your poised dye,

That's ballasted with quicksilver or gold,

Is gross to this

.

For the bristle dye, it is
 Not worth that hand that guides it: toys fit only
 For clerks to win poor costermongers' ware with".

— Another inspiration comes from Jonson's famous play. The heaps of gold, greedy Mammon sees coming in, Caster also is told to obtain, and the use the hypocrite promises to make of part of his riches, also corresponds with Cartwright's scene.

cf. *The Alchemist*, act II, sc. 1:

"Mam. . . . I assure you,
 I shall employ it all in pious uses,
 Founding of colleges and grammar schools,
 Marrying young virgins, building hospitals,
 And now and then a church".

See now *The Ordinary*, act II, sc. 3:

"Hear. . . . your care shall be
 Only to tame your riches, and to make them
 Grow sober and obedient to your use.
 Cas. I'll send some forty thousand unto Paul's;
 Build a cathedral next in Banbury;
 Give organs to each parish in the kingdom;
 And so root out th'unmusical elect". ⁽¹⁾

— The two proper names, Tribulation and Ananias, mentioned in the first four lines of act IV, scene 1 (*The Ordinary*), may, I think, be traced back to the two characters with the same names in *The Alchemist*. Jonson is railing at the Puritans, and Cartwright's lines are meant for the same.

— The blindfolding of Andrew and the subsequent tricks played upon him, are undoubtedly forged after *The Alchemist*, act III, scene 2. I may be excused for transcribing the highly amusing passage of Jonson's play; this will save me many explanations otherwise necessary.

"Enter Subtle, disguised like a priest of Fairy, with a stripe of cloth.

⁽¹⁾ cf. also the promised pious uses of wealth in Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage*, act II, sc. 1 (Rolliardo); and Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Night-Walker*, act IV, sc. 5 (Algripe).

Sub. (In a feigned voice). Is yet her grace's cousin come?

Face. He is come.

Sub. And is he fasting?

Face. Yes.

Sub. And hath cried hum?

Face. Thrice, you must answer.

Dap. Thrice.

Sub. And as oft bug?

Face. If you have, say.

Dap. I have.

Sub. Then, to her cuz,

Hoping that he hath vinegar'd his senses,
As he was bid, the Fairy queen dispenses,
By me, this robe, the petticoat of fortune;
Which that he straight put on, she doth importune.
And though to fortune near be her petticoat,
Yet nearer is her smock, the queen doth note:
And therefore, ev'n of that a piece she hath sent,
Which, being a child, to wrap him in was rent;
And prays him for a scarf he now will wear it,
With as much love as then her grace did tear it,
About his eyes (They blind him with the rag) to shew
he is fortunate.

And, trusting unto her to make his state,
He'll throw away all worldly pelf about him;
Which that he will perform, she doth not doubt him.

Face. She need not doubt him, sir. Alas, he has nothing,
But what he will part withal as willingly,
Upon her grace's word — throw away your purse —
As she would ask it: — handkerchiefs and all —

(He throws away, as they bid him.)

She cannot bid that thing, but he'll obey. —
If you have a ring about you, cast it off,
Or a silver seal at your wrist; her grace will send
Her fairies here to search you; therefore deal
Directly with her highness: if they find
That you conceal a mite, your are undone.

Dap. Truly, there's all.

Face. All what?

Dap. My money; truly.

Face. Keep nothing that is transitory about you.

Bid Dol play music — (Aside to Subtle) — Look, the elves are come

(Dol plays on the cittern within)

To pinch you, if you tell not truth. Advise you.

(They pinch him.)

Dap. O! I have a paper with a spur-ryal in't.

Face. Ti, ti.

They knew't, they say.

Sub. Ti, ti, ti, ti. He has more yet.

Face. Ti, ti-ti-ti. In the other pocket? (Aside to Sub.)

Sub. Titi, titi, titi, titi, titi.

They must pinch him or he will never confess, they say.

(They pinch him again.)

Dap. O, O!

Face. Nay, pray you hold: he is her grace's nephew,

Ti, ti, ti? What care you? Good faith, you shall care.

Deal plainly, sir, and shame the fairies. Shew you are
[innocent.

Dap. By this good light, I have nothing.

Sub. Ti, ti, ti, ti, to, ta. He does equivocate, she says:

Ti, ti do ti, ti ti do, ti da; and swears by the light
[when he is blinded.

Dap. By this good dark, I have nothing but a half-crown

Of gold about my wrist, that my love gave me;

And a leaden heart I wore since she forsook me.

Face. I thought 'twas something. And would you incur

Your aunt's displeasure for these trifles? Come,

I had rather you had thrown away twenty half-crowns.

(Takes it off.)

You may wear your leaden heart still". —

Compare now Cartwright's scene, (*The Ordinary*, act IV, sc. 3; Andrew is blindfolded, and Jane and Priscilla have left the room):

"Enter Meanwell, Shape.

Mean. One, sir, to lead you home.

And. Who? tutor Meanwell?

(Shape counterfeits Mistress Jane's voice.)

Shape. Yes, I do commit you
Unto your trusty friend: if you perform
This vow, we may —

And. I'll say your sentence out —
Be man and wife.

Shape. If you'll do something else
That I'll propose.

And. Pray make your own conditions.

Shape. You'll promise me you'll not be jealous of me?

And. Do what you will, I'll trust you.

Shape. Never hire
Any to tempt me?

And. By this light (I would say,
By this darkness), I never will.

Shape. Nor mark
On whom I laugh?

And. No.

Shape. Nor suspect my smiles,
My nods, my winks?

And. No, no.

Shape. Nor yet keep count
From any gallant's visit?

And. I'll ne'er reckon:
You shall do what you will.

Shape. You'll never set
Great chests and forms against my chamber-door,
Nor pin my smock unto your shirt a-nights,
For fear I should slip from you ere you wake?

And. As I do hope for day, I will not.

Shape. Give me
Some small pledge from you to assure your love;
If that you yet prove false, I may have something
To witness your inconstancy. I'll take

This little ruby; this small blushing stone
From your fair finger.

And. Take it, sweet. There is
A diamond in my band-string, if you have
A mind to that, I pray make use of't too.

Shape. In troth, a stone of lustre. I assure you,
It darts a pretty light, a veget spark.
It seems an eye upon your breast.

And. Nay, take it;
For love's sake take it then: leave nothing that
Looks like an eye about me.

Shape. My good Andrew,
'Cause of thy resolution, I'll perform
This office for thee. Take my word for't, this
Shall ne'er betray thee. (Exit Shape.)

And. Farewell, honest Jany;
I cannot see to thank thee, my sweet Jany.
Tutor, your hand, good Tutor; lead me wisely.

Mean. Take comfort, man; I have good news for thee:
Thine eyes shall be thine own before next morning.
(Exeunt.)"

The congruities, in the two scenes, are numerous, and lucid enough. Dapper, afterwards gagged with a piece of gingerbread, is then led to Fortune's privy lodgings, i. e. the privy; whilst Andrew is conducted to the room, where he hopes to see Jane again, whereas, in reality, he meets with the chambermaid.

— In *The Ordinary*, as we know from the summary (act V, sc. 3, p. 50), the knight's man

"Fed on the wholesome steam of candle-suet".

This line reminds of Face's satire upon Subtle (*The Alchemist*, act I, sc. 1):

"But I shall put you in mind, sir; — at Pie-corner,
Taking your meal of steam in, from cooks' stalls," . . .

— Cartwright's confession scene (act V, sc. 3), shows markedly Jonson's influence. When after the explosion, all hope to turn everything into gold is shattered, Sir Epicure Mam-

mon grows penitent; he confesses his sin, and asks the "good father's" [Subtle's] forgiveness, (*The Alchemist*, act IV, sc. 3). In *The Ordinary*, Sir Thomas is worked upon by Shape to do penance, (cf. summary, p. 50). In both cases, a sum of a hundred pound is screwed out of the penitent.⁽¹⁾

— In the last scene but one (of *The Ordinary*), we find a rather comical reminiscence of Jonson's comedy. In act V, scene 3, when Subtle and Dol have escaped, and Face being turned butler again, Surly (the duped gamester) calls to Sir Epicure Mammon:

.
 "Come, let us go and hearken out the rogues:
 That Face I'll mark for mine, if e'er I meet him".

Upon which, Face, not recognised by Surly, sarcastically observes:

"If I can hear of him, sir, I'll bring you word,
 Unto your lodging; for in troth, they were strangers
 To me, I thought them honest as my self, sir".

Cartwright has slightly altered the situation. Meanwell, taking his former (now disguised) comrades as watchmen, tips them for their service.

cf. "Mean. That you mayn't want
 Employment, friends, take this, I pray, and drink it.
 Slicer [disguised]. Sir, when y'are cheated next, we are
 [your servants".

— The dénouement on the whole, especially as far as the accomplices and their dupes are concerned, strongly reminds of *The Alchemist*. In both comedies, the tricksters, by their cunningness, escape the law, leaving behind a number of "gulls", all more or less justifiably punished for their follies.

* * *

(¹) A similar, yet highly dramatic confession scene is in *The Nightwalker*, (act IV, sc. 5), where the usurer Algripe is brought into the vault. He promises to do anything that lies in his power, so to "build churches", and a "whole city of hospitals".

Bartholomew Fair, (acted 1614).⁽¹⁾

Our author seems to allude to this play in the following two passages:

— In act I, scene 1 (*The Ordinary*), Slicer reprimands Meanwell:

“These foolish, puling sighs
Are good for nothing, but to endanger buttons”.

In Jonson’s comedy (act I, sc. 1), Mrs. Littlewit says of the “old elder” from Banbury:

“... he breaks his buttons, and cracks seams at every saying he sobs out”.

— In act II, scene 4 (*The Ordinary*), Andrew, after having lost even his cloak in gambling, being cheated by disguised Shape, complains to him that the cheating rogue looked like him. This, naturally, does not meet with Shape’s and his tutor’s approval, and so young Credulous has to cry peccavi, by assuring them that he was merely jesting; upon which Meanwell satirically warns him, saying:

“That wit, Andrew,
Of yours will be th’undoing of you, if
You use ’t no better”.

In *Bartholomew Fair* (act I, sc. 1), Quarlous and Winwife are admonishing Littlewit in a similar strain.

cf. “Quar. Come, John, this ambitious wit of yours,
I am afraid, will do you no good in the end”.

* * *

The New Inn (acted 1629).⁽²⁾

In their boisterous talk or “roaring”, Rhymewell and Christopher jeer at Catchmey’s stoutness.

cf. (*The Ordinary*, act III, sc. 5):

“Rhyme. Thou thing,
Thy belly looks like to some strutting hill,
O’ershadow’d with thy rough beard like a wood.
Chris. Or like a larger jug, that some men call
A Bellarmine, but we a Conscience”.

(1) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 369.

(2) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 375.

For the prototype of this figure we may turn to *The New Inn* ⁽¹⁾. Here, Lovel compares his host with such a jug, when saying, (act I, sc. 1):

"An host, to find me! who is, commonly,
The log, a little of this side the sign-post;
Or at the best some round-grown thing, a jug
Faced with a beard, that fills out to the guests,
And takes in from the fragments of their jests!"

* * *

The Magnetic Lady, (acted 1633). ⁽²⁾

We have said, (on p. 62) that the mutual adulations of Slicer and Hearsay (*The Ordinary*, act I, sc. 4) might have been inspired by a passage in *Every Man out of his Humour*. But Cartwright also might have thought of the following lines in *The Magnetic Lady* (act 1, sc. 1).

(Sir Moth, on behalf of his friend Bias, the Vi-Politic, thus addresses Lady Loadstone):

"I will tell you, sister,
I cannot cry his caract up enough;
He is unvaluable: all the lords
Have him in that esteem for his relations,
Corants, avisos, correspondences
With this ambassador, and that agent! he
Will screw you out a secret from a statist —

Compass. So easy, as some cobbler worms a dog.

Sir Moth. And lock it in the cabinet of his memory —

Compass. Till it turn a politic insect or a fly,

Thus long!"

If we combine the two passages in Jonson's plays, and assign the respective qualities to our lieutenant and the intelligencer, we get some of the salient points in their character.

cf. (*The Ordinary*, act I, sc. 4):

"Hear. . . . There's one, look on him —

Slicer. Do but view

That searching head —

⁽¹⁾ cf. also *Bartholomew Fair*, act IV, sc. 3.

⁽²⁾ cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 377.

Hear. The very soul of battle:
True steel.

Slicer. H'hath been an agent some few years
(A score or so) for princes, and as yet
Doth not write forty.

.
. That man of peace there hath
Been trusted with king's breasts —

Hear. His name is heard
Like thunder, and that mere word Slicer hath
Sufficed unto victory.

Slicer. He's close.
Reserv'd, lock'd up, The secrets of the king
Of Tartary, of China, and some other
Counsels of moment, have been so long kept
In's body without vent, that every morning,
Before he covers them with some warm thing
Or other, you may smell'em very strongly;
Distinguish each of them by several scents —.

Hear. A grove of pikes are rushes to him: hail
More frights you than a shower of bullets him."

* * *

Neptune's Triumph (1624).⁽¹⁾

The question here is to ascertain whether the description of the elaborate "military dinner" in *The Ordinary* has been suggested by the Master-cook's speech in *Neptune's Triumph* or not⁽²⁾. Part of this speech Jonson inserted into *The Staple of News* (act IV, scene 1). It is not the writer's aim to examine the authorship of *The Bloody Brother, or Rollo, Duke of Normandy*, the Cook's speech in that play, therefore, will not be taken into consideration here. —

When Have-at-all asks the lieutenant to give a bill of direction for the dinner, Slicer replies that

(¹) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 397.

(²) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. III, p. 140; footnote 2, (ante p. 52); also Koeppel's notice in *Anglist. Forschungen*, Heft 20, p. 190 fol.

"All must be soldierlike;
No dish but must present artillery;
Some military instrument in each."

(*The Ordinary*, act II, sc. 1.)

Instead of transcribing Cartwright's menu, it is evidently more appropriate to give a table of the dishes, and the persons and things they are to represent.

dish:	person, or thing represented:
tripe, six or seven yards	ensign
a collar of brawn	drum
black-puddings, two	drum-sticks
a lamprey	fife
march-panes	trumpets
cock, swimming in white broth	captain
turkey	serjeant-major
buzzard	lieutenant
breast of mutton, stuffed with pudding	} corporal
or carp	
soused fish, among some fennel	perdues ⁽¹⁾
chicken	} common soldiers
duck	
rabbit	
pigeon	
snipe	} the more genteel (i. e. soldiers)
woodcock	
partridge	
pheasant	
quail	} ordnance, muskets petronels, petards match wild-fire
marrow-bones, a dozen	
sausage, twelve yards	
caveary	
fat pikes	

⁽¹⁾ as to perdues, or soldiers sent on forlorn hope, see also: Shakespeare, *King Lear*, act. IV, sc. 7; and Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Little French Lawyer*, act II.

dish:	person, or thing represented:
fresh turbot, with the spitchcock	buckler, with sword [adjoined]
malecotoons, with other choicer plums	large sized bullets
peas, a dish or two	small sized bullets
no pepper	no powder
(this being not in fashion amongst gallants)	
venison-pasty	fort, to scale
other pies	outworks (scounces)
wine (claret, alicant, tent, sack, white wine, Rhenish)	blood

Compare what Jonson's Master-cook says of himself and his art:

"he designs, he draws,
He paints, he carves, he builds, he fortifies,
Makes citadels of curious fowl and fish,
Some he dry-ditches, some motes round with broths;
Mounts marrow-bones; cuts fifty-angled custards;
Rears bulwark pies; and, for his outer works,
He raiseth ramparts of immortal crust;
And teacheth all the tactics at one dinner:
What ranks, what files, to put the dishes in,
The whole art military!"

These lines might have suggested some of our author's various dishes, and the idea of regarding them as military instruments; perhaps too, the general conception to teach valour by means of a dinner. But the consequent carrying through of the idea "that all must be soldierlike" is probably due to the Cook's description of his pot of "olla podrida", where persons represent the meats, Cartwright having then simply converted the matter.

By the way, his captain "swimming in white broth", reminds of Jonson's isle "floating in in a brave broth".

cf. the description of the pot:

"Cook. Bring forth the pot. It is an olla podrida.

But I have persons to present the meats.

.

- Boy. O, if the pot had been big enough!
- Cook. What then, child?
- Boy. I had put in the elephant, and one camel,
At least for beef.
- Cook. But, whom have you for partridge?
- Boy. A brace of dwarfs, and delicate plump birds.
- Cook. And whom for mutton, and kid?
- Boy. A fine laced mutton,
Or two; and either has her frisking husband:
That reads her the Corranto, every week.
Grave Master Ambler, news-master o' Paul's,
Supplies your capon; and grown captain Buz,
His emissary, under-writes for turkey;
A gentleman of the Forest presents pheasant,
And a plump poulterer's wife, in Grace's street,
Plays hen with eggs in the belly, or a coney,
Choose which you will.
- Cook. But where's the bacon, Tom?
- Boy. Hogrel the butcher, and the sow his wife,
Are both there.
- Cook. It is well; go dish them out."

Comparing the two menus, we find in our author's list almost all the dishes of Jonson's, and a somewhat similar treatment of the question, naturally with due enlargements, this being Cartwright's peculiarity. This short investigation might lead us to the assumption that the writer of *The Ordinary* really was influenced by *Neptune's Triumph*.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

(1584—1616) (1579—1623)

Cartwright, though a follower of Jonson's, was an enthusiastic admirer of Fletcher, and this dramatist's manner of treating questions of love was much more congenial to him than any other poet's. Compare our author's verses upon Fletcher's dramatic works⁽¹⁾. A few lines may be permitted here:

(1) Cartwright's *Works*, pp. 269 fol.

"Jonson hath writ things lasting and divine,
 Yet his love-scenes, Fletcher, compared to thine,
 Are cold and frosty, and express love so,
 As heat with ice, or warm fires mix'd with snow;
 Thou, as if struck with the same generous darts,
 Which born, and reign, in noble lovers' hearts
 Hast clothed affections in such native tires,
 And so described them in their own true fires,
 Such moving sighs, such undissembled tears,
 Such charms of language, such hopes mix'd with fears
 Such grants after denials, such pursuits
 After despair, such amorous recruits,
 That some, who sat spectators, have confest
 Themselves transform'd to what they saw exprest:
 And felt such shafts steal through their captived sense,
 As made them rise parts, and go lovers thence."

It is evident Cartwright knew very well Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, and we may not be surprised to find reminiscences of them in our author's dramatic attempt.

Priscilla's immodest song (*The Ordinary*, act III, sc. 3), has some similarity with Chloe's song in *The Faithful Shepherdess*⁽¹⁾ (act I, sc. 3).

In *The Scornful Lady*⁽²⁾ (act I, sc. 1; and act III, sc. 1) the waiting gentlewoman Abigail, though "towards fifty", makes similar advances to Welford, suitor to her lady, as does the young chambermaid in *The Ordinary*.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle, (printed 1613)⁽³⁾.

Cartwright probably had this play in mind when writing the following lines (*The Ordinary*, act IV, sc. 1):

"Cre. . . . Hey for a noise
 Of fiddlers now!
 Hear. The Great Turk loves no music."

At the end of act I, scene 1, (*The Knight of the Burning Pestle*), the citizen's wife says to her husband: "Hark, hark,

(1) printed 1610; cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 663.

(2) printed 1616; cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 668.

(3) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 679.

husband, hark! fiddles, fiddles! (music) now surely they go finely. They say 'tis present death for these fiddlers to tune their rebecks before the great Turk's grace; is 't not, Georgel!"

— A deeper connection seems yet to exist between the two plays in question. The entire love-plot in *The Ordinary* reminds, in some points, of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. The constancy of Luce's love seems to be reflected in the character of Jane. Rich Venterwels, who first banishes Jasper from his house, and finally accepts him as his son-in-law, might have served as a parallel to Sir Thomas Bitefig. Besides these points in the economy of the plot, Cartwright undoubtedly is also influenced by Fletcher's fluent pathos in the speeches of Luce, though Jane's language never reaches such a height.

JAMES SHIRLEY.

1596—1666.

The Bird in a Cage, (acted and printed 1633)⁽¹⁾. Jane's confession in act III, sc. 3, (*The Ordinary*), of loving young Littleworth, when wooed for Andrew Credulous by disguised Meanwell, might have its prototype in *The Bird in a Cage*. Here (act IV, sc. 1), disguised Philenzo, the true lover of Eugenia, also succeeds, by a trick, in seeing his sweetheart. He however, pretends to be the prince of Florence, and claims her as his own, as the match is agreed between their respective fathers. Eugenia, in a noble passion, confesses her affection for her "dear banished Philenzo", who is wild with joy in finding so much pure and true love. As the sky is not yet serene above their heads, they jointly contrive how to overcome the obstacles. The resemblance of the main points in the two love episodes is remarkable (cf. the summary of the play, p. 46), though the details differ, and no verbal congruities can be found. But Shirley having been a favourite with the King and Queen, like Cartwright, it may be assumed that the latter knew the play the former had ironically dedicated to Prynne, in 1633.

(1) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. III, p. 108.

The Gamester, (acted 1634, printed 1637) (1).

In *The Ordinary* (act I, sc. 4), old Credulous does not
 "hold the university

Fit for the training up of such a spirit",
 as his son is; therefore he brings him to the men of the ordinary that Andrew may become a gentleman. The same is done by Barnacle with his nephew in *The Gamester*. For the finishing touch the citizen gives his heir in tuition to the gamester and fighter Hazard.

cf. "Bar. I would have this nephew of mine converse with
 [gentlemen.

Haz. And he does so.

Bar. I'll not pinch him in's allowance;
 The university had almost spoil'd him.

Haz. With what?

Bar. With modesty; a thing you know,
 Not here in fashion: but that's almost cured.
 I would allow him to be drunk.

Haz. You may, sir.

Bar. Or any thing to speak him a fine gentleman."

(*The Gamester*, act I.)

I can hardly think of Cartwright having been ignorant of this popular play that had earned so much royal praise.

4. CONCLUSION.

Summing up the chapter on the sources of the play, we get the following table of the authors that have, or may have influenced *The Ordinary*. We also add to this list short notes on Cartwright's allusions and borrowings.

Chaucer:

<i>The Canterbury Tales.</i>	} — The language of the antiquary Moth (to a large extent).
<i>Troilus and Criseyde.</i>	
<i>The Legend of good Women.</i>	
<i>The Romaunt of the Rose</i>	
<i>Boethius.</i>	
<i>The Book of the Duchesse.</i>	

(1) cf. Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. III, p. 109.

Peele:

Edward the First.

— Hearsay's jocular remark about rising at Queenhive.

Shakespeare:

The Comedy of Errors.

— Slicer's joke on Hearsay of having him dissected.

Middleton:

Michaelmas Term.

— Old Credulous' joy on getting Caster's land.

Your five Gallants.

— The general conception of Meanwell in deceiving his accomplices.

A fair Quarrel.

— Sir Thomas' opinion on riches.

— The "roaring" of the four clubbers.

Jonson:

Every Man in his Humour.

— Slicer teaching Have-at-all valour.

Every Man out of his Humour.

— Slicer's and Hearsay's mutual adulation.

— Hearsay's remark on Moth resembling an image in a German clock.

— Have-at-all's hyperbolic fury.

— Old Credulous' highsounding name for his son, the Great Turk.

— Old Credulous as honest as the skin between the brows.

— The general conception of the Caster-episode, act II, sc. 3.

— Hearsay's contempt of the false dice.

— Pious uses of the riches; Caster.

— The names of Tribulation and Ananias, used by old Credulous.

The Alchemist.

Bartholomew Fair.

The New Inn.

The Magnetic Lady.

Neptune's Triumph.

Beaumont and Fletcher:

The Faithful Shepherdess.

The Scornful Lady.

*The Knight of the Burning
Pestle.*

Shirley:

The Bird in a Cage.

The Gamester.

— The blindfolding of Andrew.
— The knight's man's meal of steam.

— Sir Thomas' penance.

— The three (disguised) cheaters not recognised by Meanwell.

— The dénouement on the whole; the tricksters escaping the law.

— Meanwell's sighs that endanger buttons.

— Foolish Andrew's dangerous wit.

— Christopher comparing stout Catchmey with a Bellarmine.

— Slicer's and Hearsay's mutual adulation.

— Slicer's bill of the military dinner.

— Priscilla's immodest song.

— Priscilla's advances to Meanwell.

— The Great Turk's dislike for Music; Hearsay.

— The general conception of the love-plot, Sir Thomas, first, banishing young Littleworth; then accepting him as his son-in-law. Jane's constancy.

— Jane's confession of loving (disguised) Littleworth.

— The university not fit for the training of youth; the ordinary the proper place. Old Credulous.

